The Beaver

AUTUMN 1965

The UNCHANGED Standard: "choice goods as can be bought for money"

"We have sent you full Indent of Trading Goods: Stores and Provisions and instead of 150 Blankets which we thought might be too few, we have sent 225. The Flannel, now sent we have chose out of a thicker Sort, but yet very fine and good . . . Let us know whether the Size of the Crown of the Hats are pleasing to the Natives."

LETTER TO RICHARD NORTON, PRINCE OF WALES'S FORT, FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, LONDON, MAY 1, 1740

Hudson's Bay Company

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

The Beaver

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HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE

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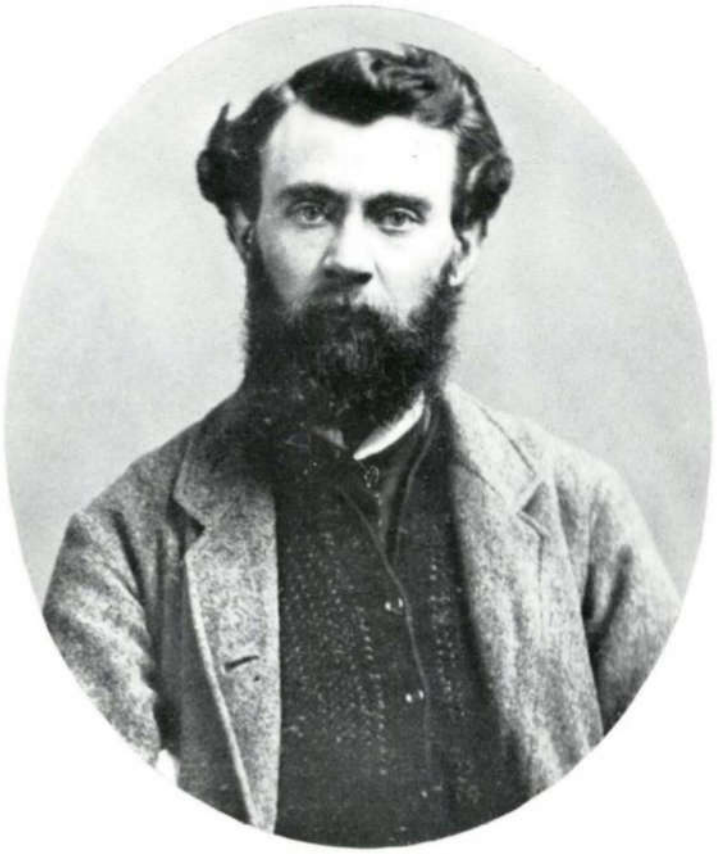
HOLIDAY 1856 IN HONOLULU

By Flora Hamilton Burns
The author, a free-lance writer who lives in Victoria, is the granddaughter of W. J. Macdonald whose diary forms the basis of this story.



William John Macdonald, from an ambrotype taken at Fort Victoria c. 1855-6.

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1855 William John Macdonald, a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island fell into ill health, suffering from insomnia and rheumatism caused by winter conditions in the Fort. He was twenty-six years old and had come from the Isle of Skye to Victoria in 1851 as a protégé of the Company's redoubtable Director, the Hon. Edward Ellice, M.P., often referred to as "Bear Ellice". Dr John Sebastian Helmcken, medical officer at the Fort, prescribed a change of climate and surroundings.

There was no regular means of transportation to any southern regions but the Crimean War was in progress and Macdonald had been deputed by Governor Douglas to welcome H.M.S. *President* to Victoria. A warm friendship ensued between Macdonald and the ship's officers, and Captain Frederick offered him a passage to San Francisco, which he gladly accepted, stating in his diary:

The *President* making the fastest sailing trip I ever made— from Esquimalt to San Francisco in two days and a half,— 750 miles—a strong northwest wind and the ship a swift sailer.

The arrival of the *President* in San Francisco on October 31st coincided with the news of the fall of Sebastopol, and Macdonald attended the elaborate victory celebrations organized by the British and French residents, of whom Mr James Lowe, the Company's Agent in San Francisco, was one of the principals in planning the festivities.

The Regular Despatch Line of clipper barques had just been established between San Francisco and Honolulu, and on December 1st Macdonald took passage on the barque *Yankee*, Captain Smith, which played a notable part in Hawaiian history during the next few years. One historian called Smith "a prince of captains", and Macdonald said he was:

Photos courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives except where credited.

. . . a good specimen of the jolly old sailor. At 12 noon he always asked us down to his cabin to have some old rye. A fast ship and a good sailor. Making the voyage in 14 days. We had a theatrical party on board. A young, good looking woman married an old man. They did not enliven the voyage much.

On landing at Honolulu I reported to Mr Clouston, Chief Trader in charge, who secured sleeping quarters for me, and I boarded with him at Mrs Voufister's, a kind, agreeable widow lady who, I think, was in love with Mr Clouston, but no marriage took place.

Tragedy lies behind those words. Robert Clouston belonged to a prominent Orkney family, many of whom were officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was a brilliant young man who had served at Red River, at Pembina and elsewhere before becoming Chief Accountant at York Factory. He contracted tuberculosis and his young bride, the daughter of Donald Ross, Chief Trader at Norway House, also fell a victim to the disease and quickly succumbed. Clouston became so ill that he was sent home on furlough in 1849, not expected to live. Removed from the rigors of life and climate at York Factory, his health improved, and in 1850 he was sent to Honolulu, via Fort Victoria, in the hope of arresting the disease. At that time the Hudson's Bay Company had been operating an agency in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands for seventeen years.

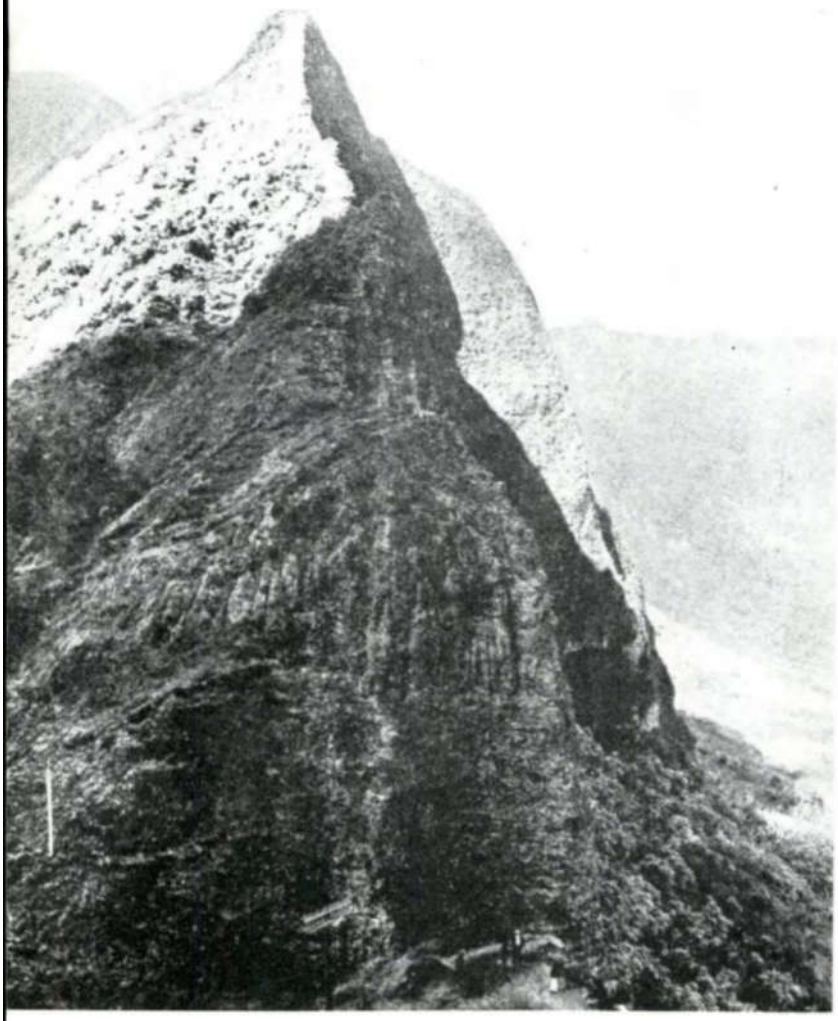
The climate of Honolulu suited Clouston and he was appointed Chief Trader. The Company's Archives reveal his vision, astute judgment and advanced outlook for business expansion. The Hawaiians were discriminating customers and Clouston would accept nothing but the highest quality in goods for the Islands trade: the Company's blankets and woollens were highly prized for their softness and weight; new patterns in prints were in great demand, and muslins must be of the finest quality to suit the ladies of Honolulu.

On occasion the Company acted as bankers for the Hawaiian Government. When a devastating smallpox epidemic swept the Islands in 1853 the King and Privy Council requested a loan of $10,000 or upwards from the Company, to erect hospitals and provide emergency medical needs for the stricken population, for which no government legislation or appropriation existed. Acting under the former instructions of Sir George Simpson, Clouston considered himself empowered to grant such a loan immediately, for one year, on the security of the King and Council. To obviate the necessity of drawing bills, Clouston requested Governor Douglas to remit all cash on hand at Victoria by the first ship for the Islands. This loan, with interest at ten per cent per month, was repaid within eight months. Needless to say, Clouston was highly regarded in Honolulu.

Macdonald's visit was particularly welcome to Clouston, for in addition to having been a fellow resident at Fort Victoria in 1851, he brought the latest news of the Colony of Vancouver Island. Clouston had spent three months at Victoria and was so deeply impressed by the Island that he had purchased 100 acres and "a town lot" there, telling his father-in-law:

I shall bide my time until settlers and capital increase and then . . . God willing, I intend to make for myself a home, which will be a lonely one . . . but it will still be *my own*. Vancouver Island. . . . is doubtless destined to become a flourishing country, and . . . will be an empire in itself.

Honolulu in the mid-nineteenth century, from an old lithograph.
HBC



Nuuanu Pali affords a magnificent view over the surrounding country; the valley, where Hardisty and Macdonald shared a cottage, was a cool retreat for residents of Honolulu.

Joseph Hardisty in his later years; he was chief clerk for the H B C at Honolulu during Macdonald's visit.

COURTESY
CATHERINE HARDISTY FOSTER

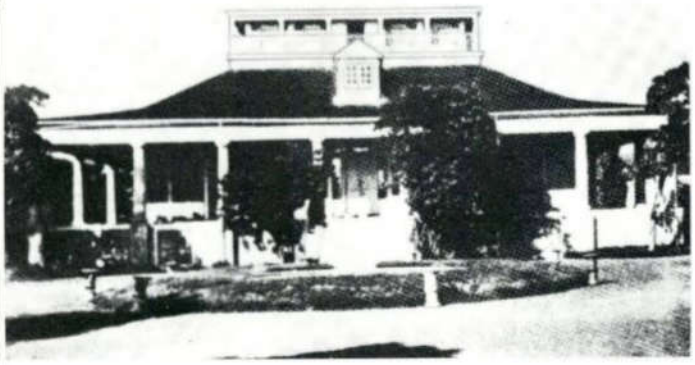
His plans were never fulfilled. During the three years following Macdonald's visit, the Company's business underwent a change. Clouston strongly advocated an exclusively cash business and the development of a systematic retail trade, with additional staff and a wider range of goods, but his recommendations were not adopted. Although he employed additional help at his own expense, the strain of maintaining the business with only one fully qualified assistant, severely affected his health and eyesight. In 1857 he applied for his first furlough since 1850, but eighteen months passed before he could leave Honolulu. He sailed for Vancouver Island on 9 August 1858 but was taken seriously ill next day and died at sea four days later, at the age of thirty-eight.

Fortunately the future was hidden and Macdonald was able to enjoy to the full the pleasures of life in Honolulu, stating:

> Mr Joseph Hardisty was Chief Clerk. He and I took a native cottage up Nuana Valley [Nuuanu Pali] by a mountain stream, in which we both bathed before sunrise, afterwards it would be too hot. We kept native ponies, which were fed by the owner with cut grass. Every day we enjoyed our ride.

Like Robert Clouston, Joseph W. Hardisty was a member of a distinguished Hudson's Bay Company family, being the son and grandson of Chief Factors and a brother of Richard Hardisty II who was a Member of Parliament and Senator, and of Lady Strathcona. He himself became a Chief Factor in 1872. Clouston had a very high opinion of Hardisty, and when applying for his own leave he strongly recommended that Hardisty be left in charge and his salary increased. As he explained:

> His salary is not sufficient to support him in an expensive place like this, and the consequence is that he has expended almost all that he had saved prior to his arrival here. The principal item of private expense is washing, which has cost him over Four Hundred Dollars during his residence here [since 1854], which with other necessary expenses makes his salary of £100. per annum inadequate to meet his outlay, and I would therefore respectfully ask of the Governor and Committee to make some addition to his salary.
>
> His services here are, I consider, worth much to the Trade as he is thoroughly acquainted with the business in every



The old Royal Palace of the forties to seventies.

branch and is well known to all our customers, both foreigners and natives.

At the time of Macdonald's visit the Sandwich Islands were at the peak of their history as an independent nation. Before the admixture of blood which later took place, the Hawaiians were an exceptionally fine, pure race of Aryan origin, outstanding in appearance and physique, of high mental attainments, and with the royal line still further excelling, both mentally and physically. During the progressive reigns of King Kamehameha III, surnamed "the Good", 1824-54, and his nephew and adopted son, Kamehameha IV, 1854-63, Hawaii developed into a democratic and Christian nation, with its independence guaranteed by Great Britain, France and the United States. Several of the highest executive positions in the Government were filled by able British and American residents whose advice and assistance were sought by the King.

Kamehamaha IV, the last but one of the independent, hereditary kings, was twenty-two years old, well educated, fluent in English, and European in ideals and outlook. In June 1856 he married the famous Queen Emma, who was a descendant of the ancient royal dynasty and the adopted daughter of Dr T. C. B. Rooke. After their marriage the Hawaiian Court was patterned upon Buckingham Palace.

Sir George Simpson had been largely instrumental in obtaining the three-power guarantee of independence, and as an officer of the Company Macdonald was a privileged visitor. Described by a contemporary as "the finest specimen of young manhood I can recall—handsome as a young Apollo, and gentle as a woman, but his muscles were like a steel spring", with a straightforward, unassuming manner, he was a popular guest, and his diary contains spontaneous, almost telegraphic references to various outstanding personalities of the golden era in Honolulu. The diary states:

Called on General Miller, the British Consul, who lived with a sister in a suburban villa, lawns, gardens and iron railing being after the British style. The General was a fine old English soldier who fought with Peru against (*sic*) Chili. On retiring he received a present of $350,000. Here I met a Mr. Wyllie, who was Foreign Minister to the Government, a very agreeable, well-informed Scotchman.

General William Miller belonged to that remarkable breed of Englishmen who, in the nineteenth century, brought organization and discipline, combined with humanity and leadership, to far places of the East and West. An officer of the Napoleonic War and the War of 1812, he distinguished himself in the Chilean and Peruvian Wars of Independence, 1821-24, defeating the Spanish troops in Chile and then in Peru, where he was appointed Commander-in-Chief and a local Governor. His charge at the head of the Peruvian troops gained the independence of those two countries. From 1843 until his death in 1861 he was British Consul-General of the Pacific. He worked indefatigably on behalf of the King and people of Hawaii to prevent annexation by the United States. His house and garden in Honolulu were famous. When taken fatally ill in Callao, he asked to be carried on board a British frigate in order that he might die under his own flag.

In 1844 General Miller brought to Honolulu as Pro-Consul Robert Crichton Wyllie, a Scottish physician who had spent many years in South America, and who was appointed Foreign Minister a year later. He was an outstanding personage in Hawaiian history, being also a member of the Privy Council and of the House of Nobles, positions which he held until his death twenty years later.

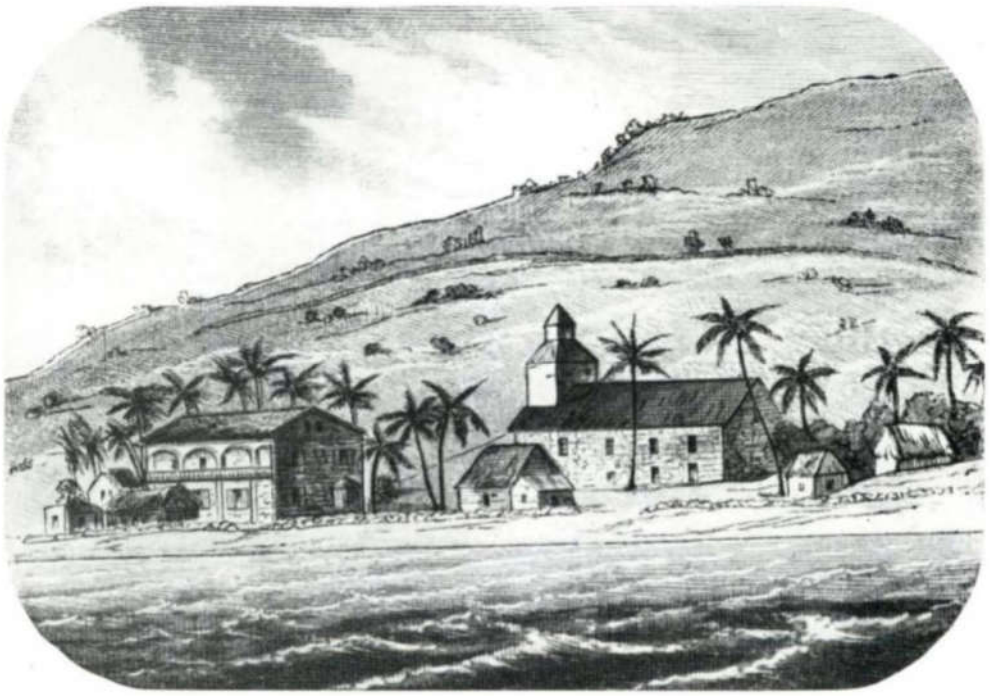
Macdonald continued:

Mr. Adams, a former shipwrecked carpenter, settled in the suburb, married a native, had a beautiful garden with tropical fruit trees. He gave a native feast and dance in honor of Mr.

Hardisty and self, to which he invited King Kamhamra III [*sic:* Kamehameha IV], who came on horseback, accompanied by two mounted attendants. He threw off his coat and squatted down on mats, like all of us, to dinner of roast turkey, roast pork and other dishes spread on mats on the ground. After dinner there was native music and dancing.

Not being in very robust health, I consulted a Dr. Hildebrand [Hillebrand], who prescribed for me to advantage.

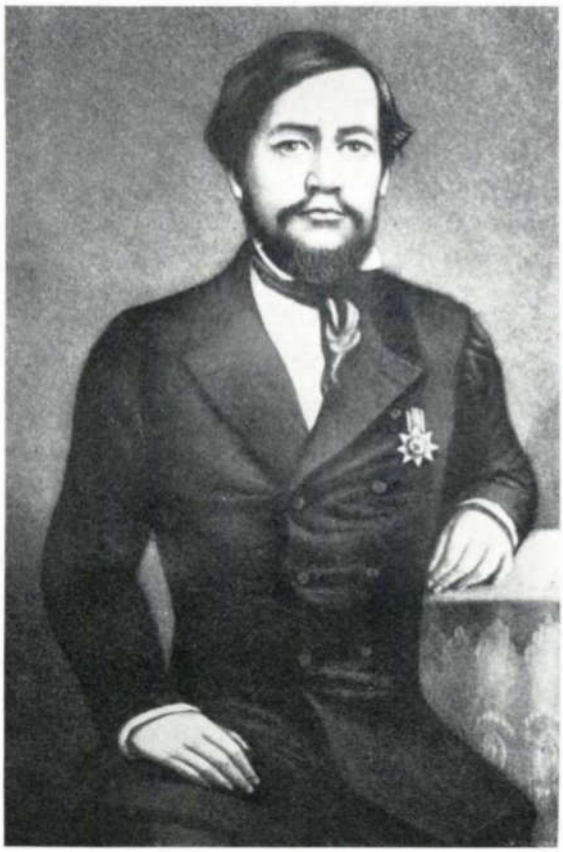
Alexander Adams, an Englishman, reached Honolulu early in the century and became a trusted friend and adviser of Kamehameha I, who appointed him captain of his largest and most valuable ship. He married the relative of an important chief who was the prime minister and as a wedding present they received a vast estate which comprised "all the land within this area from the tops of the mountains to the shoreline of the sea". This was where Adams entertained Hardisty and Macdonald when he invited Kamehameha IV. The estate is still owned by Adams' descendants.



The most skilful physician in the Islands was Dr William Hillebrand, a graduate of the Universities of Gottingen, Heidelberg and Berlin. When Queen Emma built the Queen's hospital she appointed Dr Hillebrand Medical Director, and he was also appointed Commissioner of Immigration to prevent the entry of those suffering from contagious diseases. He had a celebrated botanical garden and his book, *The Flora of the Hawaiian Islands*, was long the only authoritative work on the botany of Hawaii. It was no doubt on Dr Hillebrand's advice that Macdonald and Hardisty took the mountain cottage and adopted the Hawaiian customs of daily rides and bathing before dawn. His treatment was quickly effective, for in January Clouston advised Governor Douglas that Macdonald's health was improving.

About this time, Captain Mitchell arrived from Victoria in the brigantine *Recovery*, with a large cargo of salt salmon.

Governor Douglas had built up an important trade in salmon from the Straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca, which was in strong demand by the Hawaiians. The Company's ship had left Victoria for Honolulu on November 24th, during a period of violent Pacific storms.



Kamehameha III, 1824-54, who was known as "the Good".

Left: the King's residence and church at Kailua.

Right: Queen Emma, consort of Kamehameha IV, was actively interested in the welfare of her people.

A normal passage occupied 27 days but the *Recovery* did not reach Honolulu until January 14th, "after experiencing very heavy weather," reported Clouston, "52 days on her way. Her casks and warps stove, and her mainmast so badly injured that I have to replace it." At Victoria the *Recovery* was unreported for 105 days, creating great anxiety for her safety, for news of her arrival at Honolulu did not reach Douglas until March 8th, when, as he said, "we had almost despaired of ever seeing her again."

In the meantime Macdonald continued to enjoy the generous hospitality of Honolulu residents, saying:

> Dr. McGibbon, [*sic*] Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rhodes and Dr. Brown were very kind to me, as a young stranger in a strange land.
>
> I met a Mr. Montsteratt, [*sic*] a most handsome man, so thought a native princess, which caused a cyclone. He was in business. I made some purchases to take back to Victoria, on which I doubled my money.

Dr Robert McKibbin, Sr, was an Irish surgeon and pharmacist who had recently commenced practice in Honolulu, and whose son became Court Physician to King Kamahameha IV. After General Miller's death the McKibbin family acquired his house which they occupied until 1894 when they transferred it to Liliuokalani, the last Queen of Hawaii. A Honolulu historian commented that ". . . it more than any other place here, had the appearance of an English home, as in fact it was, continuously, up to 1894."

The Rhodes family had been in Hawaii for some years prior to 1842 when Captain Godfrey Rhodes, an Englishman, established the first extensive coffee plantation and became closely identified with the public life of the Islands. His brother Henry arrived in 1845 and became a partner in the British firm of R. C. Janion & Company, the largest importers and shipping company in Hawaii.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, STATE OF HAWAII

Victoria Kamamalu, sister of King Kamehameha IV.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, STATE OF HAWAII

Right: General Miller's house after it was acquired by the McKibbin family in the '60s. On the extreme left of the verandah are Captain Henry Wentworth Mist, R.N. and Miss Jane McKibbin, whom he married about 1869.

King Kamehameha IV, 1854-63, last but one of the hereditary kings of the Sandwich Islands, from an autographed daguerreotype.

Captain Rhodes also brought out his brother-in-law, Thomas Brown, a trained horticulturist and gardener who leased a large estate for agricultural purposes. His repute as a horticulturist was very high: he brought out the first magnolia trees, and laid out the beautiful grounds of Mr Wyllie's estate at Hanalei, which he bought from Captain Rhodes. Macdonald refers to him as Dr Brown.

In 1858 Henry Rhodes came to Victoria and founded the firm of Rhodes & Janion, Commission Agents, with a branch in Portland, Oregon. Kamehameha IV appointed him Hawaiian Consul, and he and his family became prominent Victoria citizens who were noted for their lavish hospitality. In 1874 the *Victoria Daily Colonist* stated that "the name of the well-known house of Janion, Rhodes & Company, the fourth oldest house in British Columbia, is almost as familiar in this Province and Oregon as that of the Hudson's Bay Company".

Marcus Cummins Monsarrat, called 'Monie' by his friends, was an unscrupulous English adventurer, an auctioneer by profession, who had arrived in Honolulu a short time before. He married into a leading Island family and soon ingratiated himself with the young King who appointed him one of his aides. His worldly ease and charm of manner and appearance captivated the King's pretty young sister, Princess Victoria Kamamalu, his legal successor and the highest born chieftainess in the country, who was betrothed to High Chief David Kalakaua, later the last King of Hawaii. In the spring of 1856, believing the King to be absent from Honolulu,

Monsarrat entered the Princess's apartments by stealth, but was discovered and banished from the Islands, being deported on the barque *Yankee*. He defied the King's edict and twice returned to Honolulu, claiming immunity as a foreigner. General Miller refused to protect him, whereupon he enlisted the aid of Mr Gregg, the American Commissioner, who was anti-British and threatened to use force. Supported by General Miller, the King ordered out 200 police and Monsarrat was again arrested and for the second time deported on the *Yankee*.

After this affair Princess Victoria, who was very proud, refused to marry Chief David and died unmarried at the age of twenty-eight. Following the death of Kamehameha IV Monsarrat again returned to Hawaii and engaged in subversive activities against the reigning house. He was one of the conspirators who brought about the fall of King David Kalakaua. The cyclone had carried away the last King of Hawaii.

Of the Honolulu landscape Macdonald said:

> The scenery round Honolulu is very fine. First Punch Bowl Hill, the top of which is a pretty green hollow, the crater of an extinct volcano, then 6 miles ride up to the Paley [Pali], through a highland country with scrub timber and mountain streams, arriving at the summit a sheer rock precipice is come to, from which there is a view of a beautiful level stretch of country, cultivated, with native crops, sugar cane being grown. In the face of this rock, zig-zag roads are cut for the natives to carry on donkey or mule back their products to the Honolulu market.
>
> The time now came for the *Recovery* to sail back to Victoria. I took passage on her. Weather very fine. We were six days becalmed in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Arrived at Victoria the middle of March, and after seeing and greeting old friends, went back to office work. Nothing of any consequence taking place.

After the international society and novel enjoyments of Honolulu, life in the Fort at Victoria, with not more than a dozen families scattered over the surrounding countryside, must have seemed very dull, but Macdonald's visit marked a turning point in his life. He had left Victoria low in health and spirits: he returned with renewed vigour, stimulated in mind, and with the first tokens of financial independence in his pocket.

* * *

Following the gold rush of '58 W. J. Macdonald resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company to enter the mercantile business. Four years later he retired and devoted his life to the public service of the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, and from Confederation, as Senator for British Columbia until his death in 1916. ♦

Walrus skin boat

by Dolly Connelly

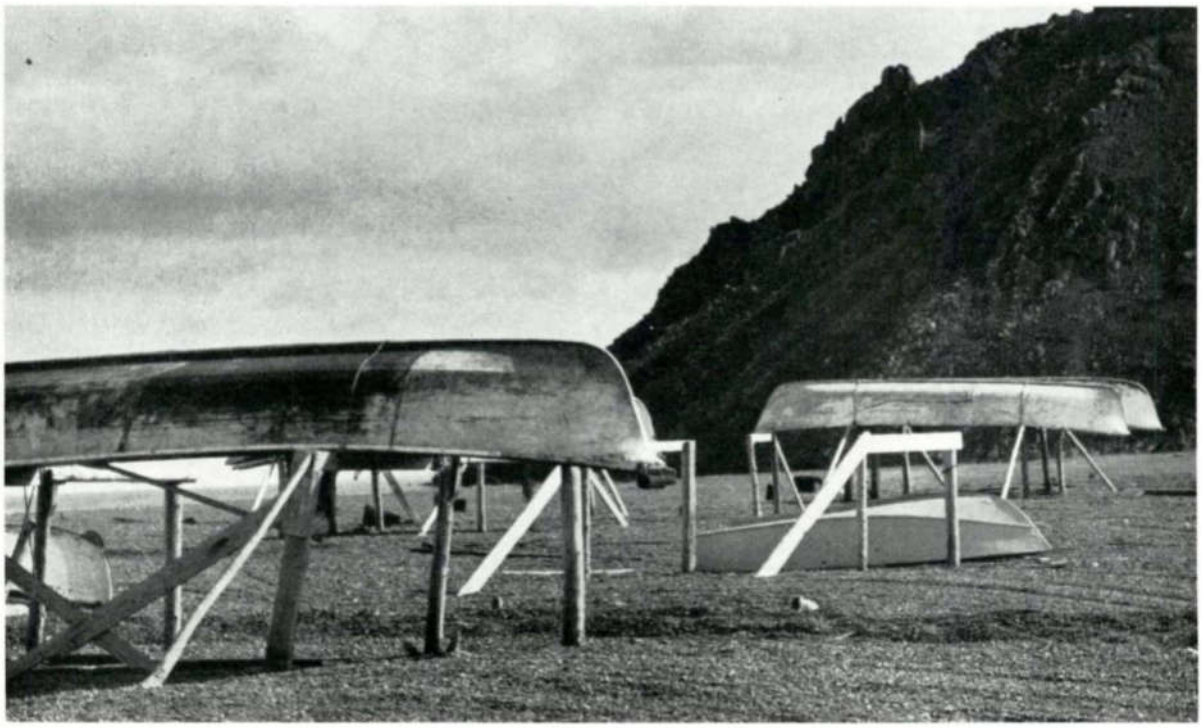
These pictures show the construction of a craft as old as man's history upon the sea, the intricate fitting and sewing and lashing of split walrus skins over the driftwood frame of an Eskimo umiak or hunting boat, called here angyak or anijuk.

The location is Gambell (population 381 Eskimos, two permanent white residents, 700 Siberian Husky sled dogs) on Saint Lawrence Island, within full view of the coastline of Siberia's Chukotski Peninsula 38 miles across the Bering Strait. Gambell, called by the Eskimos Da Bugk Meet, or Many Not Big Rocks, is located at the extreme northwest cape of Saint Lawrence Island, at the foot of Mount Sevuokuk. The present Gambell, named after a medical missionary who came to live among the Eskimos in 1894, is the fifth such village. Others are buried under ever-increasing pebbles, piled ceaselessly at the foot of the mountains by the savage Bering Sea surf.

When, every few centuries, the spit extends too far beyond the village for easy launching of skin boats the Eskimos abandon the old site and establish a new one, for all of life is bound intimately with the sea, and gifts of the sea. Anthropologists believe the colonies of Siberian Eskimos on the islands of the Bering Sea date back at least 2000 years. The reason for their existence here remains constant—the annual migration of thousands of walrus by their very door in late spring, and the fantastic seabird rookeries on the cliffs of the mountains where veritable storms of birds return in summer.

Hunting in the Bering Sea requires big, sturdy boats, capable of carrying several hunters and tons of walrus meat and hides. Thus the kayak is not in use here, where launching is done through violent surf. Every angyaellk, or hunting boat captain, owns at least two angyaks—one elevated on its rack to dry out in Gambell's rousing winds while the second is in use.

These angyaks, or umiaks, ranging in length from 18 to 30 feet, require two to three hides of female walrus—preferred to those of males, which are lumpy, over-thick and heavy in comparison to the lighter, more uniform skins of females. The first operation in preparation of the skins is thorough fleshing and scraping to remove blubber. Then the skins are stretched on a standing frame and split exactly in half edgewise. Walrus skins run from an inch to almost two inches in thickness, good for mukluk soles when crimped into shape with the teeth but too heavy for light boats which must be dragged over pebble dunes and



On the beach below Mount Sevuokuk skin boats are raised on racks to dry out after use.

ice. Flattened out, split skins are twice the area and half the thickness of the original hide.

Skins are then dried until the frames of boats are prepared for them. Formerly Eskimos made frames out of whale bone and driftwood, but in modern times some lumber is delivered on the annual visit of the supply ship. Soaked for a week or ten days in the fresh water of nearby Troutman Lake, wet, slippery skins are draped over frames, fitted and sewn together with waterproof double seams, and lashed tight with walrus rawhide to the gunwales. Sewing is women's work and is executed with beautiful precision by means of braided caribou sinew sewn in double seams.

Keels are made of walrus ivory, carved, fitted and pegged to hardwood which in turn is fitted to the boat. Rounded bow and stern are finished with whale jawbone. The ivory keel slides readily over ice and gravel and is far more durable than the hardest of woods. A skin boat in constant use may require covering every year, but most will last two to three years if given time enough to dry out properly. The porous skins absorb water and become "floppy" if at sea for more than 24 hours. When dry the boats are rigid.

Upside down on whale jawbone racks, out of the reach of dogs, the boats appear to be frail. Light shines through them. Frameworks of bent driftwood appear little sturdier than sticks of a kite. Yet these resilient cockle-shells are well adapted to sailing through ice-filled northern seas. Skin boats bounce away from contact with ice or rocks and will not shatter upon impact.

Paddles still are used at the dangerous moment of launching skin boats through the short, pounding surf of the precipitous beaches, but outboards have taken over the burden of the work. Motor wells are located one-third of the boat length forward from the stern and to one side of the keel.

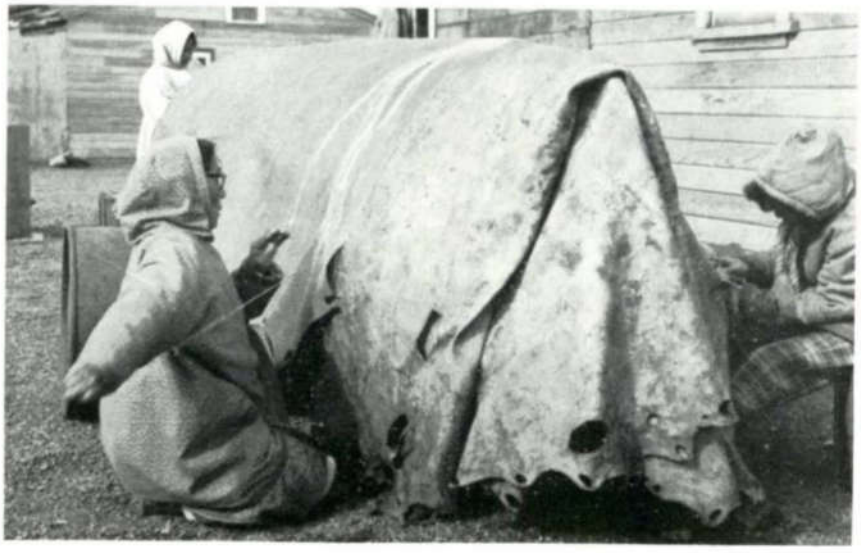
Five hunters take position in the big boats—28 feet or longer—ready for any game that presents itself. Harpoons fitted with ivory heads are hung within the gunwale lashings of the boat, ready for seals and sea lions and walrus, alongside modern shotguns and rifles, used to bring down cormorants, murres, puffins, auklets and gulls. Eskimos of the isolated islands—Saint Lawrence, King, and the Diomedes—still live like Eskimos, with only a little adaptation as yet to the white man's way of life.

Life will change, inevitably, with the construction of the 4500-foot paved landing strip on the gravel bar east of Gambell. Before the coming of the flying tourist in 1964, no more than an occasional visitor reached the isolated village, school teachers and visiting missionaries of the three village churches, nurses of the government service, trophy walrus hunters who hunt by skin boat with the Eskimos in May. Like all change, it has its good side, particularly increased opportunity for ambitious young people to enter the flow of life "outside".

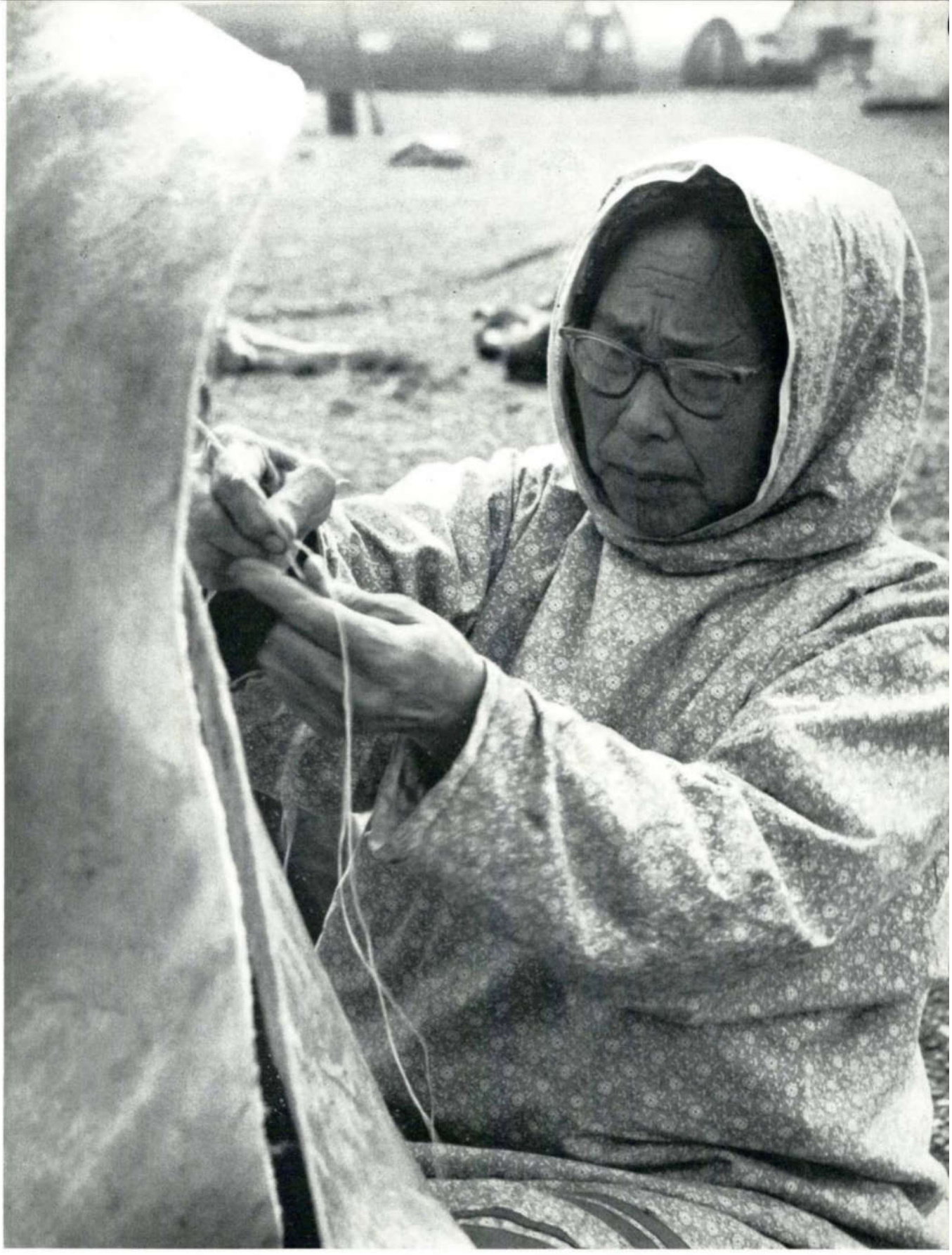
But if you ask an Eskimo what single material thing he values most of the changes brought to him by white man's culture he will answer without hesitation, "Outboard motor on my angyak." It has saved many lives from the cruel sea.

Using a drill to make pilot holes for nails in the frame of a five-man hunting boat.

Stretching wet hides brought by dog-team from Trautman Lake. After being scraped, washed, split, and dried, the skins have been soaked again for a week or ten days before being fitted over the frame. On Saint Lawrence Island dog-teams are used as much in summer as in winter, pulling sleds over the sliding gravel and slippery wet tundra.



Draped over the frame, hides are patched together. A man helps to pull skins over the frame when the under seam has been completed. The sewing, as well as the splitting of hides is women's work. Steel needles are used now, in place of bone needles, but the thread is still braided caribou sinews taken from the back and leg muscles of the animals. The hides are finely sewn with double seams and pulled so taut that the men beat upon them with whale ribs to loosen and settle them over the frames.



Caribou sinew is braided, soaked in seal oil for pliability, and used to sew waterproof double seams. As there are no caribou on the island, seals are traded for sinew.

Lashing the stitched hides to the frame, now right side up. The line is rawhide thong peeled in a continuous strip from baby walrus skin. It is extremely strong, never freezes and remains pliable under all weather conditions. Hide of adult walrus is too thick for such use.

Fitting and sewing skins at the bow. Besides the thimble, a flat stone is used to push the needle through the tough hide. The separated, projecting gunwales are typical of umiak construction.

The lashings are tightened with the aid of a whale rib. The extra hide is then cut away to lighten the boat. Though the hide is trimmed close to the lashing holes they never tear out.

The boat is inverted and set on empty oil drums to dry out. The skins now are deep yellow and translucent. When it is dry the boat is painted white, camouflage against snow and ice, the marine paint reducing water absorption.

Keels are of bull walrus ivory intricately joined and pegged into hardwood which is then fitted to the painted boat. At stern and bow whale jawbone is used to round the keel.

A former army vehicle bought by the villagers helps to pull sled carrying outboard motor and skin boat over gravel dunes to the sea.

Launchings are highly exciting as skin boats are pushed down the steep pebble beach into the surf. Paddles are used till the boat is clear of the beach.

The young wife and her small children watch husband and older sons setting out on a hunt for seals and sea birds. Eskimo boys take part in the hunt when they are seven or eight years old.

The outboard, set in a well at the side of the keel, takes over at sea. A motor on the stern would upset the balance of the light boat. Paddles are shipped and the hunt is on.

McLEOD LAKE POST

by Patricia Johnson

GIANT TRUCKS roar up the Hart Highway past McLeod Lake; a natural gas compressor station surrounded by sixteen houses stands by the roadside; and the creation of the Rocky Mountain Portage Dam on the Peace River will affect the water level within a few miles of the lake. Otherwise, McLeod Lake Post, in British Columbia, has not altered much since it was built 160 years ago.

It was the first permanent post erected in British territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and when Simon Fraser ordered its construction in 1805, the small band of Sekani Indians came there to trade with the North West Company.

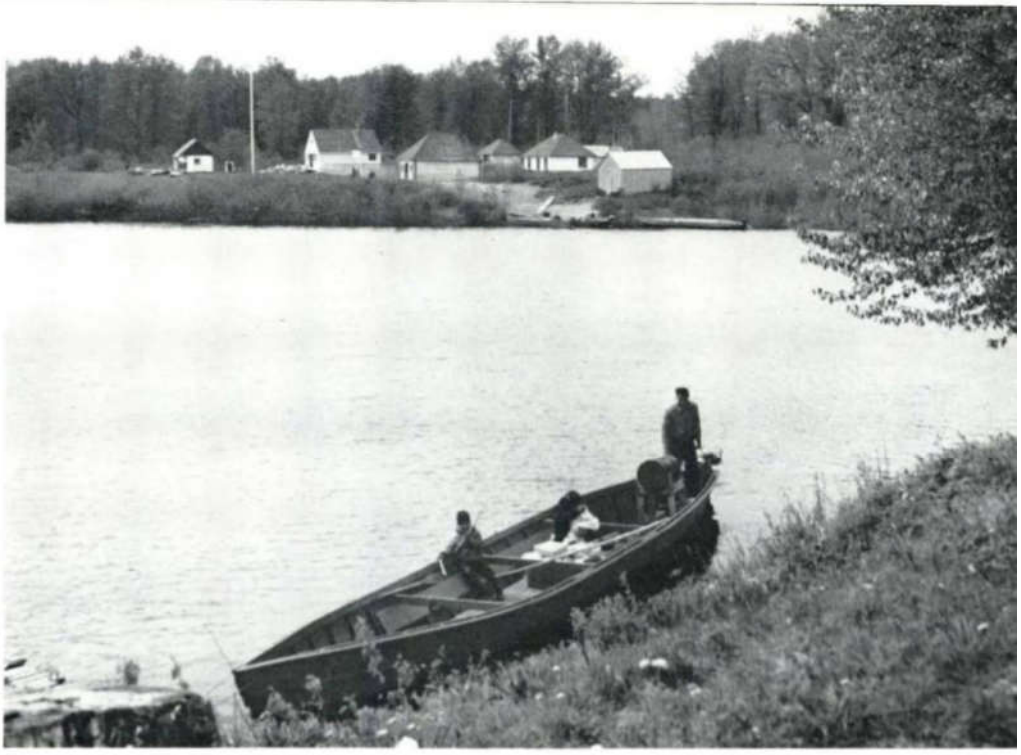
They still come to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company, although the store has been moved across the lake to stand on the side of the new highway. They come with their furs, the spring beaver, and with their money from lumbering, and they go away with pickles and ketchup, washtubs, axes, and shirts, for although the styles of goods have changed over the years, the method is much the same. The store is still the centre of the community. The Indians come across the lake in their long flat-bottomed river boats, sometimes using the outboard motor, more often poling the craft the short distance over the water. For six months of the year they walk across on the ice, for winters are long at Fort McLeod.

A free trader has had his store right by the water since 1931, but when old "Mac" died recently, his partner decided to close down, and go north, prospecting.

There has been talk of gold in the district for many years. The McLeod River which runs into the lake just beside the Indian village, is famous as a gold stream. In the Hudson's Bay store, there are hand-made gold scales, in fairly constant use a decade ago. Most of the settlers have a gold pan and talk and dream of the claims "to the north".

Today, McLeod Lake is a strange mixture of old and new. Until ten years ago, the whole settlement on the west side of the lake consisted of the Indian houses on the reserve, and the buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company. There were five of these, the store, the residence, the bunkhouse, woodshed and a warehouse. When the Hart Highway came through in 1952, connecting southern British Columbia with the Peace River country, Edmonton, and the Alaska Highway, the store was moved to

Miss Johnson is a teacher on Vancouver Island whose avocation is writing on history of the northwest.



The present settlement, where the store now stands, is on the east side of the lake where the highway runs.

NANCY Y. MIDDLETON

Across the lake on the west shore are the buildings of the earlier post, sometimes known as Fort McLeod.

B.C. GOVT.

the east side of the lake fronting the highway. It was taken apart and moved piece by piece on a scow and reassembled. A new warehouse and manager's house were built just behind the store.

The other buildings were left beside the Indian settlement. They stand there, except for the old log church that fell down, whitewashed logs with red roofs, and the grass grows tall around them. In the warehouse there is the remains of an old safe; in the manager's residence, the wallboard of the ceiling has collapsed, and great layers of moss used for insulation have come tumbling down to the floor. The woodshed is open to the weather, while the fourth building, considerably newer than the others, has been used by trappers as a place to store their belongings. None of these buildings are very old. Bill Witter, trapper, prospector, fire-lookout, and old timer who came to the district about 1920, can remember them being built. But the style is old, and they are on the site where buildings have stood for a hundred years. The very first buildings were a little further south where the McLeod river formed a point of land, but floods and log jams changed the river's course, and in 1823 the post was moved to the site the buildings now occupy.

After the store was moved to the highway side of the lake, other buildings followed. A gas station and café stand just beside the store, and here Mrs Landon provides real wild huckleberry pie, while Harry Copperthwaite, settler in the district since 1919, tells of the early days and the changes that have come to McLeod Lake. Tucked away in the trees are several logging outfits, and the houses of their employees. The British Columbia Forest Service has an assistant ranger station just north of the Hudson's Bay store, and maintains a forestry lookout post on nearby Mount Chingee. The mountain was named for the Sekani chief, Charlie Chingee, whose trapline ran through that area, and although two of his sons, Sam and Alex, have stayed across the lake on the reserve, Harry, the present chief, has a house on the highway, opposite to the store.

The Natural Gas Compressor Plant was opened in 1957, and is part of the Westcoast Transmission Company's system by which gas is piped from the Peace River region to the lower mainland of British Columbia and across the border into the United States. In the same enclosure is a pumping station for the Westlin Pacific Crude Oil pipeline, unmanned as it is completely automatic. The gas compressor station is so nearly automated that its population is not very great. The company has established a first aid post and operates an ambulance for the community, including the Indian reserve.

A well equipped two room school stands across the highway from the plant, while one of the construction buildings has been turned into a large community hall. When the Indian children were asked where they went to school, they replied, "Jack", and this turned out to be the Lejac Indian Residential school at Fraser Lake. As their families were often away trapping during the winter it was not practical for them to attend the local day school. Those going to high school went to Prince George. The Indian band now numbers about 140. They work in the woods, act as guides for tourists and canoeists who make Melville Lodge on Tudyah Lake their headquarters, and still trap and fish. Sam Chingee and his entire family were leaving in the middle of August in their river boat

for a fishing expedition to the Parsnip river to obtain their winter fish supply.

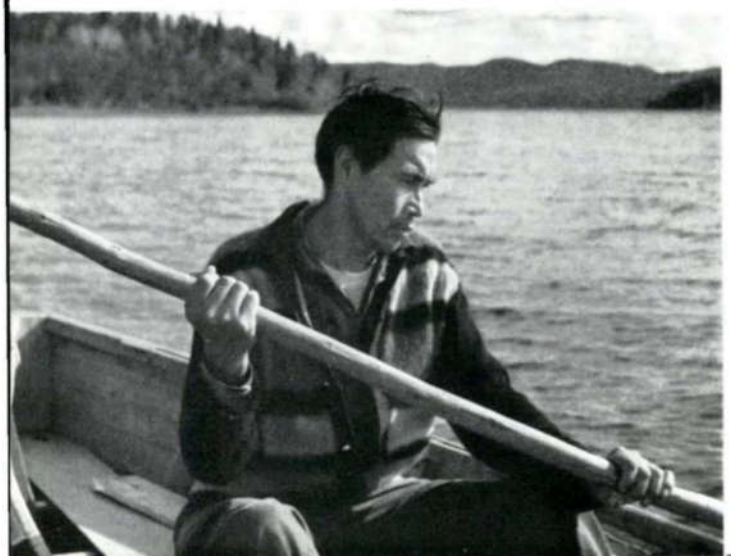
It is just over ten years since nearly all coming and going was by water, for before the highway was built this was the only way in and out of the country except for a pack trail from the Hudson's Bay post on the far side of the lake to Fort St James. This trail, which used to take packers "four or five days with a fifty or sixty pounds weight on their backs", is still in existence, and the Forestry Service is now putting in an access road near Carp Lake in the same direction. Travel by water is by no means a thing of the past. The Indians use their boats a great deal, and have a habit of popping up on the highway at unexpected places, their boats tied up at the lake or river bank below. Forestry survey crews go by boat as well as by jeep and helicopter, and now tourists have come to enjoy water travel. Visitors from the United States come thousands of miles to follow the route of Alexander Mackenzie, thinking that their canoes will be able to penetrate into real wilderness solitude. But it is a vain hope, there is plenty of travel on the water, and no one can be alone for long.

Surveyors are busy in the area assessing the effect of the raising of the water level when the Peace River Power Project comes into being. This ambitious plan to harness the northern river and to build a dam at the rapids of the Rocky Mountain Portage, involves creating a huge storage lake which will back the water up as far as Tudyah Lake, about five miles from McLeod Lake. The raising of the water level is not expected to make much difference in the area, as even the extraordinarily high water of the summer of 1964 did little damage.

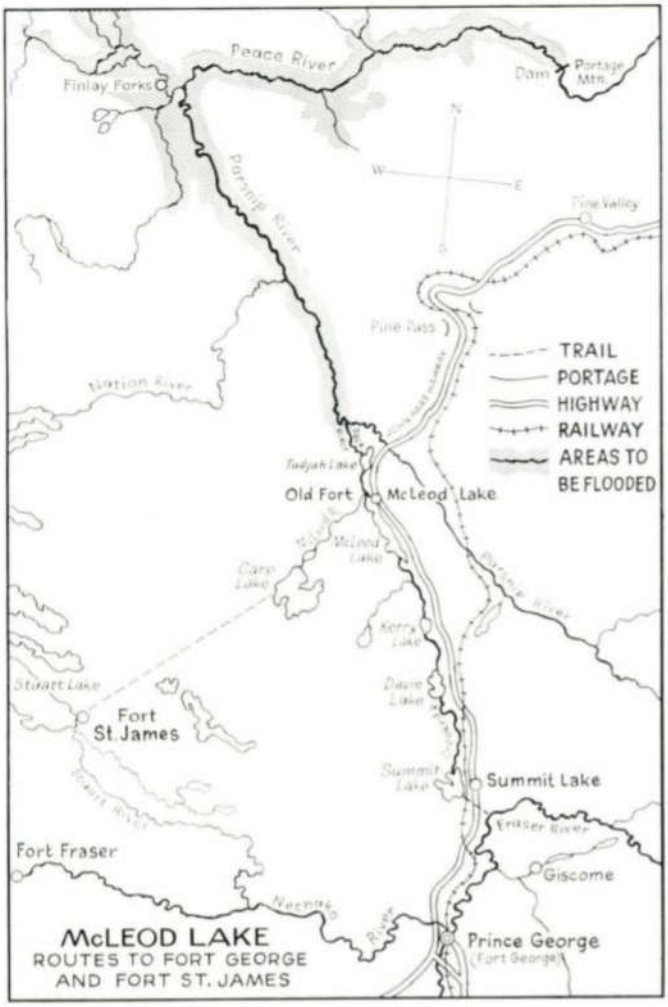
The waterways of McLeod Lake are an important part of its history. When Alexander Mackenzie came "from Canada by land" in 1793, he journeyed from Fort Chipewyan up the Peace river, then up the Parsnip to its headwaters where he portaged to the Fraser. He passed by the mouth of the Pack river. In 1805, Simon Fraser came up the Peace, and the Parsnip, but he branched off at the Pack, which drains Tudyah and McLeod Lakes, and so came to establish the post at a point where the lake narrows to enter the Pack river. McLeod Lake itself is formed by the Crooked river, rising in Summit Lake, not far from the present town of Prince George, and flowing very slowly through a number of widenings designated as Davie and Kerry Lakes. At Summit Lake there was a portage of about seven miles to Giscome on the Fraser. This became the main line of communication from Lake Athabaska to New Caledonia.

The history of McLeod Lake is the story of the fur trade and the men associated with it. When Simon Fraser established the post in 1805, he left the unreliable La Malice and two other French Canadians in charge for a few months while he returned for the winter to his establishment of Rocky Mountain Portage House (near present Hudson's Hope) which was upriver from the older Rocky Mountain Fort on Peace River. The post at the lake was later named after Archibald Norman McLeod, a North West Company partner. In 1806 Fraser, with Stuart, returned to Fort McLeod, then continued up the river and by way of the Fraser and Nechako to establish Fort St. James, which he called Fort Nakasleh and the Nor'Westers subsequently called Stuart's Lake Fort. James McDougall, who had been placed in charge of McLeod Lake, arrived in 1806 with a store of tobacco, beads, and ammunition, and accompanied by two Canadians and an Indian. When John Stuart became head of the district of New Caledonia in 1809 he spent a great deal of his time at McLeod Lake and he makes many references to it in his records.

Daniel Harmon in New Caledonia between 1810 and 1819 was also often at Fort McLeod although he made his headquarters at Stuart's Lake (Fort St James). In his journal, he expressed great anxiety over the state of the local Sekani Indians. These people were a small group persecuted both by the Beaver tribe to the east and by the Carrier tribes further to the west. They were essentially hunters, but because of the deep snow and scarce game they found it difficult to hunt in winter and starvation was frequent. They came to depend on the dried salmon obtained in early fall from the Stuart Lake area of the Carrier people, and if the fish were unobtainable, they existed on roots and leaves, and often showed an emaciated appearance. Harmon wrote of them: "the Sicaunies are not an ingenious people; and I know of nothing which they manufacture, excepting a few ill wrought bows and arrows, and wooden dishes &c." He commented on the fact that in spite of hardships and shortage of game, they appeared "remarkably fond of the country where they now are".



A Sekani Indian on McLeod Lake.
B.C. GOVT.



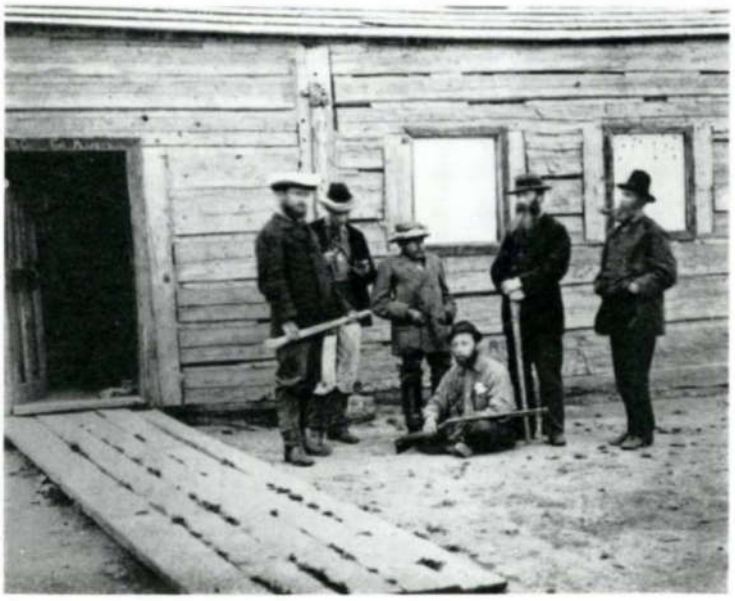
A McLeod Lake octogenarian and St Michael's Church at the new settlement.
NANCY Y. MIDDLETON

Harmon's journal mentions McLeod Lake on two very important occasions in his life. An entry in December 1813 tells of his arrival at Fort McLeod where "I found several Letters from my Brothers, which announced the most grievous and truly heart-rending tidings—that my beloved son George was no more to be numbered among the living! He who was enjoying good health the second of March was on the 18th of the same month a lifeless Corpse!" This little boy, sent back to be educated with Harmon's relatives in Vermont died at the age of five, and as Harmon wrote, "All my love and affections were placed on my darling Boy".

A happier entry came in May 1819, when Harmon and his family arrived for the last time at McLeod Lake. "I arrived here about two months since. Yesterday, the most of our people embarked with the returns of this place, in three canoes; and a few hours hence, I shall with my family, proceed in another, which will be pushed on by six Canadians. It is now eight years and an half since I came to the west side of the Rocky Mountain. My life, which has often been in jeopardy, is still preserved; my family have generally enjoyed, in a high degree, the comforts, which this part of the world affords; and, especially, they have been extensively blessed with health of body, and contentment of mind. Our worldly affairs have prospered, to as great an extent as we could reasonably expect. For all these blessings, it becomes us to return unfeigned thanks, to the great Giver of every good gift."

After the Hudson's Bay Company took over the post in 1821, John Stuart remained in charge of the district until William Connolly arrived in 1824. At Fort McLeod, James McDougall was succeeded by John Tod, and for a short time in 1825, James Douglas, later governor of British Columbia, served as a clerk at the post, arriving there on 25 April from Fort Dunvegan on the Peace river.

At this period, Fort McLeod was probably at the height of its importance. The site of the post was changed in 1823 after severe floods, and from then onward the fort occupied the same position until the move to the highway ten years ago. Although the post was never large, it was important. Each year, the furs to be sent back to Canada



Indians in their dugout on the Pack River.

McLeod Lake post in 1906 with rail fence surrounding the garden and Indian village beyond.

G. M. Dawson with a survey party visited the post in 1879 when the discouraged manager had inscribed over the doorway of the post-on-sill building "B.C. Fort Misery".

B.C. PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

were assembled at Fort McLeod and the brigade proceeded down the Parsnip and the Peace rivers to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca and so to the east. Each year an expedition set out from Fort McLeod to travel to Jasper House, first by way of Tête Jaune Pass and later by the Peace river to obtain leather goods. This so-called "leather trail" was necessary because moose and caribou were scarce in the west, but their hides were needed for moccasins, bags, clothes, and ropes at all the posts in New Caledonia. The leather excursions took place in winter, and so severe were travelling conditions, that it is said that each man needed eight pairs of moccasins to make the trip, and the man in charge took twenty extra pairs in case of emergency. The Indians at Fort McLeod did occasionally dress a moose or caribou skin and this would be sent to Fort St James as the demand was always great.

In 1828 Governor George Simpson visited Fort McLeod on his way from Fort Chipewyan to Fort Vancouver. He arrived at McLeod Lake in September after travelling for 29 days up the Peace river, commenting on the "beauty and grandeur of its scenery, the fertility of its Soil, the number of its vegitable productions, the variety of its mineral appearances and for what to Indian Traders is beyond all its other properties and characteristics peculiarly interesting, its riches in Beaver and other Fur bearing animals".

Simpson reported that McLeod Lake was frequented by thirty to forty Sekanis who hunted in the neighbourhood of Finlay River and estimated that the post traded some thirty packs of fur each year with a value of about £2,500. He calculated that the six posts of New Caledonia (among which he did not include Kamloops) produced about £12,000 worth of furs, and after expenses had been deducted, yielded an annual profit of about £9,000.

The profits of the fur trade did not blind Simpson to the isolation and difficult living conditions of the post. "McLeod Lake," he wrote, "is the most wretched place in the Indian Country," a remark called forth by the lack of food. The water had been very high, the salmon harvest at Stuart Lake had been a failure, and John Tod the clerk at the post with his two men were existing on wild berries. These are still plentiful around McLeod Lake, wild raspberries in particular, but they would provide little nourishment as a staple diet. Simpson went on to say, "in short, there is not a District in the country, where the Servants have such harassing duties or where they undergo so many privations; to compensate for which, they are allowed a small addition to the Wages of other Districts".

In spite of the hardships, when Peter Skene Ogden took charge of the district in 1834, there were eight posts, at Fort St James, Babine Lake, Fraser Lake, McLeod Lake, Fort George, Alexandria, Chilcotin, and Thompson (Kamloops). In 1839, a census was taken and the population of Fort McLeod was estimated at 202, including 49 men, 40 women, and 113 children. This total included Indians and non-Indians, but was probably short of the real figure as many of the Indians, being nomadic, would not be present when a count was taken. Fort George with only 187 inhabitants in 1839 is now a thriving city McLeod Lake's last census gave it a population of 20 whites and 140 Indians, although the white population is now greater.

Besides the accounts of Harmon, John McLean and other traders, and records of the H B C, there is in the possession of Glenbow Foundation in Calgary the McLeod Lake journal for the years 1845 to 1848 giving details of life during those years. The journal is unsigned and the entries are not all in the same handwriting. The entries from September 1845 to January 1846 are believed to be by W. McLean, those for part of 1846 to January 1848 by Paul Fraser who was Chief Trader at the post. William Todd wrote up the journal from April to June 1846 and an unknown writer from February 1848 to the end of the journal.

One of McLean's early entries in 1845 mentions the pack route which provided a "short cut" of 90 miles from McLeod Lake to Fort St James. The men had come through by way of Carp Lake with their horses but the horses deserved a day's rest as they were "miserably fagged with their trip owing to the badness of the Road". On the 20th of October there was a hard frost giving warning of the long winter ahead, and next day "all hands employed endeavouring to make our dwelling houses habitable for the winter." The following day an Indian was sent "to the little lake for white mud", presumably to chink or whitewash the log houses. Food supplies were always a worry. In October salmon were received from Stuart Lake but they were "completely soaked as also the merchandize". Even then supplies were insufficient. "On counting over the salmon brought from Stuart's Lake I find only 1513 being 87 short of the number said to have been forwarded."

McLean and his family left McLeod Lake in January 1846 and Paul Fraser took over the writing of the Journal. Chief Trader Fraser was a controversial character, and Father Morice describes him as an overbearing and haughty man who flogged a man to death at Kamloops, and who died as the result of an accident (a falling tree) at the age of 58. Fraser, being a "commissioned gentleman", often took charge of the whole district when Donald Manson, the superintendent of New Caledonia

was absent. He was firm with both the Indians and his own men, and several entries in the Journal concern a Canadian called Perrault who broke into the store house during Fraser's absence "and helped himself to what he thought proper". Perrault, when accused of this, "threw himself on his knees and Begged hard, and I gave him a couple of Kicks and informed him that I should flog him when I reach Stuart's Lake in the presence of the Men and Indians to deter others from similar conduct".

Food was still a problem. In January, the Indians managed to shoot ten caribou at Tudyah Lake, "7 of which they let me have much needed". Later in the month, he reported that the Indians were setting nets beneath the ice as food supplies had run short.

Fraser was always anxiously looking out for the return of the hunting parties, and blamed McLean for not having given them ammunition the previous fall. The Indians were badly in debt to the post, but although Fraser would advance little food to them, he realized that they must have ammunition.

In April 1846 Chief Trader Fraser went to take charge of Fort St James for the summer, and William Todd came to McLeod Lake. Fraser gave him a letter of instructions which gives a good picture of life at the fort. The letter, dated 17 April 1846, at Stuart Lake, and addressed to Mr William Todd, reads:

"Sir On your arrival at McLeod Lake in all probability the Mountain Indians have made their appearance and as they usually go to Carp Lake to fish you must not make them any advances. But put their Furs in the Store until my arrival. From their heavy debts, it would be most difficult to settle with them now, and as you are a stranger without an interpreter they would wish to impose on you. It would be necessary however you supply each of the men with 2 Measures Powder 20 Ball and 172 feet Tobacco.

"The Cut Thumb and Brothers ought also to be at McLeod's Lake You will treat them the same as the Others. You will find a new net in my bedroom You should keep it in the water. The best fishing Station are the Narrows before the Fort, they run great risks of being lost from the quantity of driftwood in the Lake.

"So soon as the Ground is clear of Snow you can employ Perrault to hoe a piece of ground for Turnips, the Spot I pointed out to him, there is fencing cut to surround it, and as soon as this work is completed You can dispatch him to cut the wind fallen trees on the road between this and McLeod's Lake and should Provisions be scarce for this essential work, he (Perrault) can apply to the Cut Thumb who will supply him with Carp for this work. It will be necessary for you to leave McLeod Lake to be here by the 6th June to enable me to meet the Indians by appointment, wishing you every success."

Fraser came back to McLeod Lake in June 1846, and the Journal is in his handwriting for the next year and a half. In April 1847 he gives a list of furs received from the Indians:

"491 Lar. and small Beaver	6 Wolverines
745 Martens	12 Musquash
15 Bears Lar.	1 Fisher
15 Cats	6 Minks
1 xFox	18 Otters"

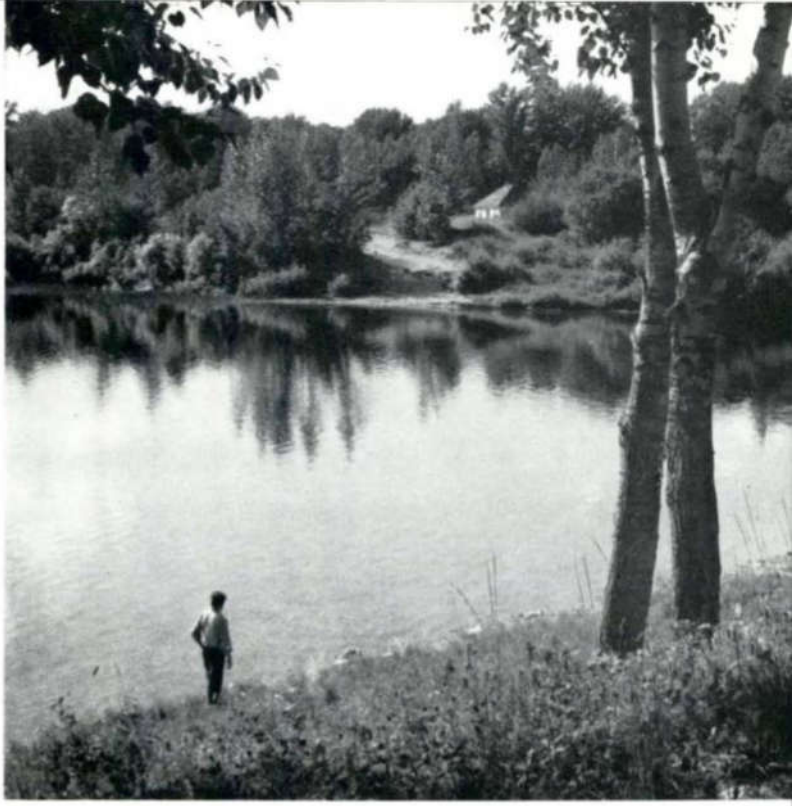
and mentions that the Mountain Indians who had not yet arrived were reported to be bringing "800 Martens with a goodly number of Beavers".

In April 1848 an unknown writer recorded the very bad weather conditions at the Fort and dwelt at some length on the near starvation of the people there. Some Indian children were at the point of death, and the writer had to give them salmon from his meagre stock or face the consequences when the fathers of the children returned from hunting for furs. "Murder has been committed for less at this post already I presume", he concludes, referring perhaps to the death of John Macintosh who was at the post between 1831 and 1844 and who was murdered by an Indian.

In 1862 Mr George Simpson, in charge of Fort Dunvegan on the Peace, came down to Victoria by way of Fort McLeod, and an account of his journey was published in the *British Colonist* of 23 December. He mentioned the gold found on the bars of the Parsnip, and referred to the rich strikes on the Finlay river. He then detailed the route used by the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort George on the Fraser river by way of the Giscome portage and Fort McLeod to the Parsnip, and stated that "it is important for the miners who intend visiting the Peace river to recollect this route" as it saved 150 miles. He described Fort McLeod as "only one house built of squared logs. Mr McKenzie [Ferdinand Mackenzie] is the gentleman in charge, assisted by one man who resides there in the summer and two in the winter. Nothing is raised there, though potatoes will grow well".

Now that gold had been discovered in the Omineca region, travellers by way of Fort McLeod were quite numerous. Peter O'Reilly, Chief Gold Commissioner and a Judge, records his visit there in 1871 on the way to the gold fields at Germansen. Charles Horetzky, doing a railway survey, was at McLeod Lake in 1872, and met nearby the famous Cornish miner, trapper and trader, Pete Toy of Peace river legends. Joseph Hunter, also on railway survey business, came to the lake in 1877 to trace the hitherto unexplored Pine pass (which the Hart High-

One of the H B C log buildings still standing at the old site west of the lake. B.C. GOVT.



way and the Pacific Great Eastern Railway now follow) and found "wild violets in full bloom."

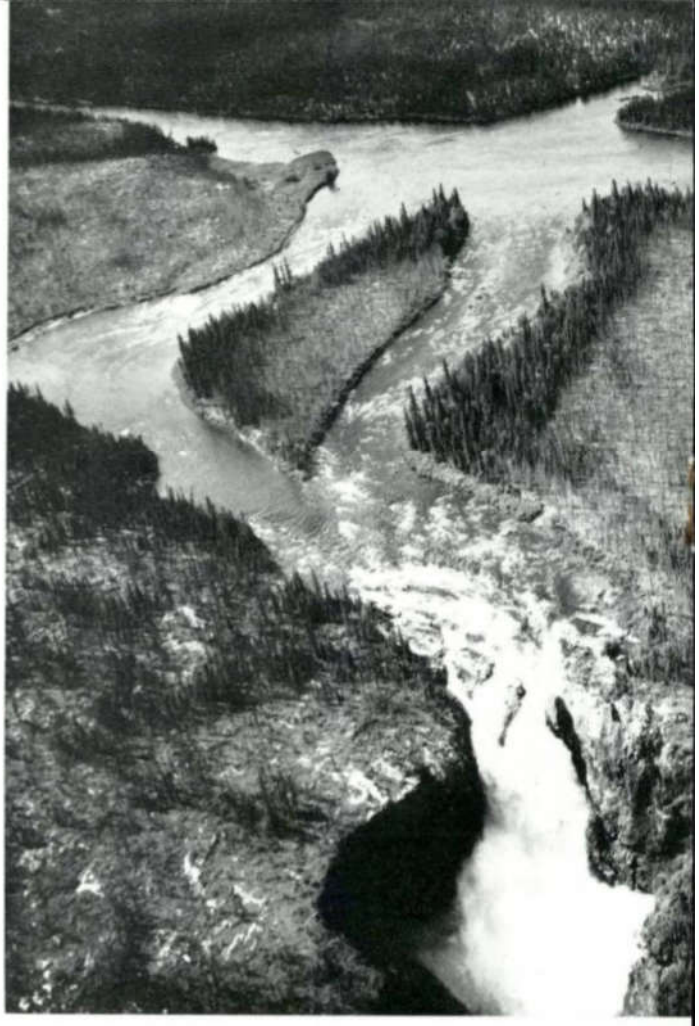
A survey party led by Dr G. M. Dawson visited the post in 1879, and the Rev. Daniel Gordon, a Presbyterian minister (and later principal of Queen's University) who was secretary to the expedition, described the site. He arrived in July when the country was at its best. "Fort McLeod is beautifully situated at the lower end of McLeod Lake . . . There is abundance of excellent pasture on the plateau around it, and it boasts a small garden that seems capable of raising anything that can withstand occasional summer frosts." He described the buildings of the fort, the log house, the store, the smoke-house, and stable, and commented that "it is now one of the smallest posts in British Columbia. The manager, a young English gentleman, who has whiled away some of his lonely hours sketching for the Graphic, has named it 'Fort Misery', a name indicative of many a dreary day". That name appears over the doorway of the post in one of the surviving pictures of the era.

Gordon was naturally interested in the religion of the Indians, and he mentioned the Roman Catholic mission at the edge of the Indian village beside the fort, and the small graveyard "kept with great neatness". According to Father A. G. Morice who was at Fort St James for 20 years (1885-1904), the Indians had been converted by Father McGuckin of the Oblate Order who was stationed in the Cariboo and who came to Fort McLeod in 1870. Later, Father Lejacq with headquarters at Stuart Lake visited the area. Today, the Catholic Church on the reserve has gone and a new church stands at the side of the highway visited by a priest from Prince George.

Other well known travellers visited McLeod Lake before the first World War. In 1890, Warburton Pike became lost in the area nearby, and wrote a famous account of his adventures. In 1912, Captain Galloway, an English mining engineer, travelled to McLeod by way of the Giscome portage and described the 100 mile paddle down the Crooked river with reeds and water lilies growing in abundance in the still water. He spent the night at Summit Lake in a warehouse surrounded by hams, bacon, oats and mice, and predicted that there would be a tourist hotel at this idyllic spot when the railway came through. At Fort McLeod he described the strong log buildings, the vegetable garden enclosed by a rail fence, and the flagstaff upon which the Union Jack was hoisted on Sundays. He mentioned the native village with its little church, the priest travelling round in his canoe over hundreds of miles visiting his scattered flock — "all these must be very much as they were a century ago".

By 1919 other people were beginning to settle in the area trading or taking up homesteads.

McLeod Lake Post, on the route from the Fraser to the Peace, has known great days in the fur trade. Today, it is part of the growth and surging movement of the North. Trucks, pipelines, helicopters are all part of the picture, but the Indian still sits waiting on the front steps of the store, and across the lake, as Gordon commented in 1879, "the foliage comes and goes unobserved; the silence of hill and forest is little more disturbed than if the voice of man had never broken in upon their primeval repose". ◆



Exploration of the in the Labrador

UNTIL THE LAST DECADE OR SO the Unknown River truly deserved its name. Situated near the remote height of land where streams start on courses towards either the St Lawrence River, Ungava Bay or the Labrador coast, the river was too far from tidewater settlements to attract more than a handful of trappers each year and too swift and tumultuous to serve as a canoe route.

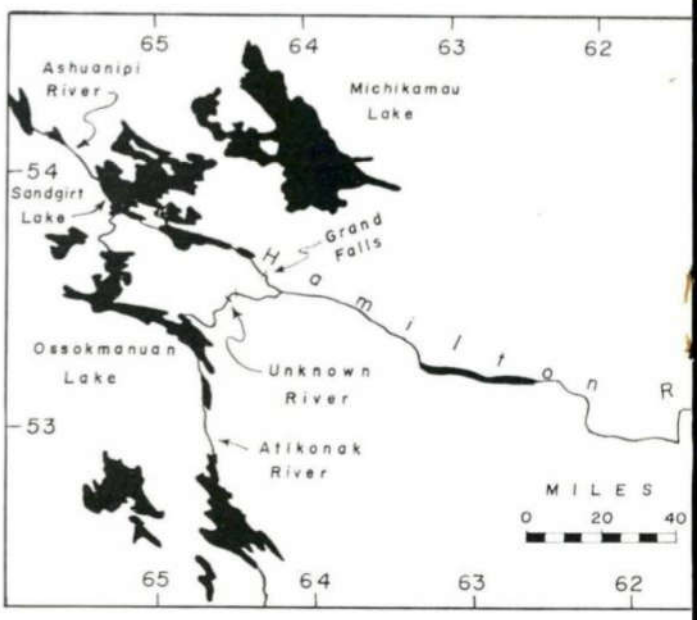
By contrast, the Hamilton River, to which the Unknown is tributary, witnessed the passage of Montagnais Indians travelling to North West River, saw the height-of-landers going up to their trapping grounds above Grand Falls, played host to the exploratory trips of men like John McLean seeking a supply route for Hudson's Bay Company posts in the interior, and for a short span of years in the mid-1800s bore the Company's freight canoes on their struggle up to the lake plateau to service Fort Nascopie. The famous Canadian geologist, A. P. Low, travelled up the Hamilton in the winter of 1894, and the same date marked approximately the beginning of a series of sporting voyages by adventurers and naturalists to Grand Falls, the river's star drawing card. At least nine of such parties canoed past the mouth of the Unknown River before 1921, the year in which J. G. Thomas resolved to explore this neglected tributary where a large waterfall was rumoured to exist.

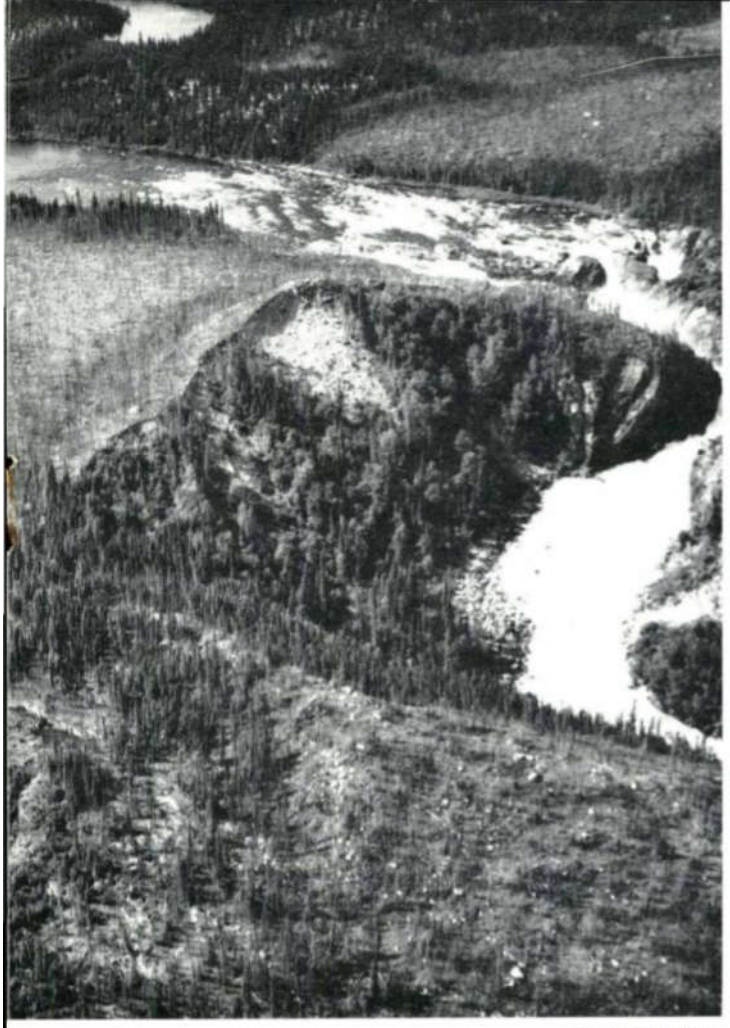
Thomas and two trappers went up the Hamilton River, cached their canoe at the mouth of the Unknown, and walked westward along its right (or south) bank. After 17 miles of hard travelling they were rewarded by the sight of a waterfall approximately 100 feet high, split at its brink into two cascades. Thomas called it Twin Falls.

Photographs taken by Thomas show not only Twin Falls, which the party was able to view at close range, but also a column of mist which betrayed the presence of a companion waterfall on a more northerly branch of the river, just beyond a large island which prevented them from seeing it. The swift river discouraged them from crossing to verify the discovery.

Four years later another party travelled to the Unknown River and found the second waterfall. The leader was a Yale student, Varick Frissell who, after being introduced to Labrador as a volunteer worker with the Grenfell Mission in the summer of 1921, was an enthusiastic admirer and photographer of Labrador scenery and people until his death at sea in 1931 while filming life aboard the sealer *Viking*. In 1925 he set out to obtain movies and still photographs of Grand Falls with which Dr Wilfred Grenfell could illustrate lectures on Labrador. In addition, he had been urged by Grenfell to visit the Unknown River and establish some of the basic facts of

Professor Ross is in the Department of Geography at Bishop's University.

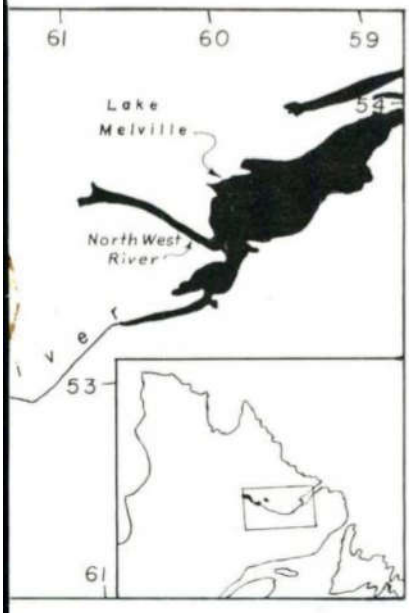




EWING GALLOWAY

Unknown River

BY W. GILLIES ROSS



Above: The lower pair of waterfalls on the Unknown River, Twin Falls on the left and Yale Falls on the right. The name Thomas Falls is now used for both falls.

its geography. Frissell was aware that "a certain Thomas had seen a high waterfall, presumably on this same stream," but that was probably the extent of his knowledge.

In company with trappers John and Robert Michelin, another Yale student James Hellier, and a Canadian gold prospector Eugene Fournier who joined the party *en route*, Frissell ascended the Hamilton to Grand Falls, which was duly admired and photographed. From Bowdoin Canyon, Frissell and John Michelin left the others and went on southward to find the Unknown River. In the course of this walk they were able to observe the general appearance of the lake plateau, and the character of the Valley River which cut across their path.

A. P. Low had concluded, following his explorations of 1894, that a distributary of the Atikonak River must flow eastward from Ossokmanuan Lake to join the Hamilton River below Grand Falls. The course of this supposed connection had appeared as a dotted line on his map, with the name Valley River.

Frissell realized the implication of this connection. It would mean that Grand Falls was being deprived of a portion of its flow. Furthermore, if one happened to believe (as Frissell did) that the Atikonak River flowed south instead of north, the possibility of the Atikonak capturing the flow of the upper Hamilton River seemed very real. There was great interest in the hydro-electric potential of Grand Falls at this time, and the possibility of Grand Falls running dry was worth investigating. It was important to discover the truth about the drainage.

When Frissell and Michelin reached the Valley River they were able to walk across it. It was an insignificant stream occupying an oversized valley, and they guessed correctly that it had no connection with Ossokmanuan Lake; however, the water route between the lake and the Hamilton River—if such a route existed—could be the Unknown River, a little further south. After a hard walk they arrived at its gorge-like valley. The next day they turned right and followed the course of the river westward, walking sometimes in the deep, narrow valley and sometimes up on the "hot lifeless plateau" when the river became confined between steep, rock cliffs. Two columns of mist were sighted from high ground and in time the two men stood before the north bank waterfall, a "paradise of beauty," whose brink, like that of the Twin Falls seen by Thomas, was split by a rock. They called it Yale Falls because of its Y-shape. On the other side of a large wooded island mist rose from Thomas's Twin Falls, which they could not see from the north bank.

Having photographed the second waterfall on the Unknown River, Frissell and Michelin prepared to move

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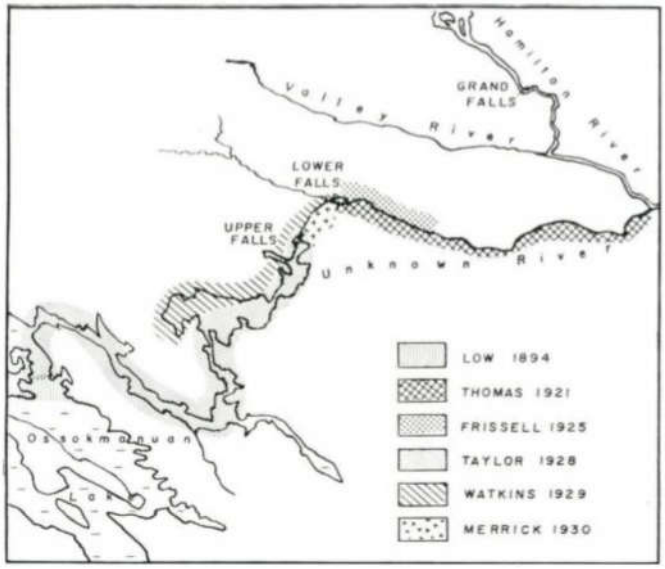
Composite view by J. G. Thomas, first to photograph Unknown River in 1921, showing Twin Falls on the left. Above the trees on the right is mist from the falls visited by Frissell four years later.



on to the more important part of their exploration. If they could observe, by walking upstream, that the Unknown River rose in Ossokmanuan Lake they would provide evidence to support Low's conviction that a water route bypassed Grand Falls. They would show, however, that the bypass was the Unknown rather than the Valley River. Had they continued as planned they would have been surprised to discover that not four miles upstream there was a second set of waterfalls rivalling the lower set in size and beauty, but unfortunately the presence of several forest fires in the vicinity convinced them that a strategic retreat was most judicious. They turned away from the Unknown River and rejoined their companions above Grand Falls.

Apart from establishing beyond doubt the existence of Yale Falls, Frissell added nothing to the knowledge of the Unknown River. The upper set of waterfalls successfully eluded him, and the question of the source of the river remained open.

By 1925 the location of the two lower falls on the Unknown River had been established; the north bank of the river below Yale Falls had been travelled for a distance of about five miles, and the south bank had been examined between Twin Falls and the junction of the Unknown and Hamilton Rivers. The upper part of the river remained unexplored until the canoe voyage of Howard Taylor in 1928.

Taylor's party included Dr J. D. Kernan, Philip V. Rogers and his brother Ralph, Wally Chambers (a guide from the Mingan area) and Philippe Colombe, a guide from Loretteville, Quebec. Using two 18-foot canvas canoes the group left the north shore of the St Lawrence in August, ascended the St Jean River, and struggled across to the upper part of the Romaine River along the route which Low, veteran traveller in the Quebec north, had once described as "the longest and worst portage route in any part of Eastern America". Following the Romaine River north to the height of land, they found their way into the Atikonak system and travelled down to Ossokmanuan Lake. Here they cached a large part of their supplies and descended the Unknown River to a pair of hundred-foot falls which Philip Rogers photographed on movie film.

Taylor and his companions were acquainted with the details of Frissell's trip, and believed (in the absence of evidence to the contrary) that the river contained only one set of waterfalls, whereas in fact there are two sets, four miles apart. Therefore, when they stood before the left-bank upper falls and observed a very large rock dividing the flow into two parts, they supposed that they were admiring the same Yale Falls seen and named by Frissell. They were convinced of it when they later met Frissell; after a comparison of photographs everyone agreed that they had been at the same waterfall, and the belief in one set of falls persisted. The remarkable resemblance between the left upper falls and the left lower falls had deceived them. In reality, Rogers had photographed the former and Frissell the latter, neither suspecting that the river contained two sets of falls. With a walk of a few hours downstream the Taylor party would have discovered the true situation, but they returned by canoe to Ossokmanuan Lake.

By the end of the summer of 1928 the Unknown River had been travelled by canoe from its source in Ossokmanuan Lake to the upper falls, and on foot from the lower falls to its termination. Between the two sets of falls there remained four miles of unexplored country, but no one knew it was there, the belief being that only one set of falls existed.

The riddle was solved by the winter explorations of Gino Watkins and James Scott of Cambridge University with Robert Michelin as guide, in February and March of 1929. The Quebec-Labrador boundary had by this time been established at the height of land and there was considerable interest in the possibility of exploiting some of the natural resources of the interior, especially minerals and forests. The key to development promised to be the hydro-electric potential of Grand Falls (which had been surveyed by Thibodeau in 1915) and other waterfalls of the area. Like Frissell, Watkins realized how important it was to find out whether or not the Unknown River was diverting a considerable flow away from Grand Falls, whether this diversion could become more serious through erosion, and whether the Unknown Falls themselves seemed attractive as a potential hydro-electric site. The expedition also planned to carry out some mapping, for although the boundary had been established at the height of land, the exact position of the height of land was unknown.

From the Hamilton River the small party travelled westward with dogs and sleds, parallel to the course of the Unknown River but about four miles south of it to avoid deep gullies. They arrived at the river just above the upper falls, examined the right bank section, and later crossed the river on the ice farther upstream to inspect the left-bank part. Here they almost made the same mistake as the Taylor party: Scott writes:

> The chart of the falling water is a letter Y. Frissell had mentioned this about the falls he had seen, and so far these looked the same. But he had also said that nowhere from the northern bank of the river could one see the falls on the southern side of the island. We walked down the bank and saw it quite clearly.

On March 12 they continued down the river's left bank and met another waterfall:

> Again there was a large island and two channels, and again there was a rock in the middle of the northern fall which made the water look like a Y . . . This undoubtedly was where Frissell had been . . .

Watkins and Scott, preceded to the upper falls by Taylor's party and to Yale Falls by Frissell, were nevertheless the first to establish the fact that four waterfalls existed on the Unknown River. Of these, however, they saw only three. They did not visit Twin Falls.

Their trip was unique in that it was accomplished in winter, which made it possible for them to cross the wide

COURTESY JAMES HELLIER

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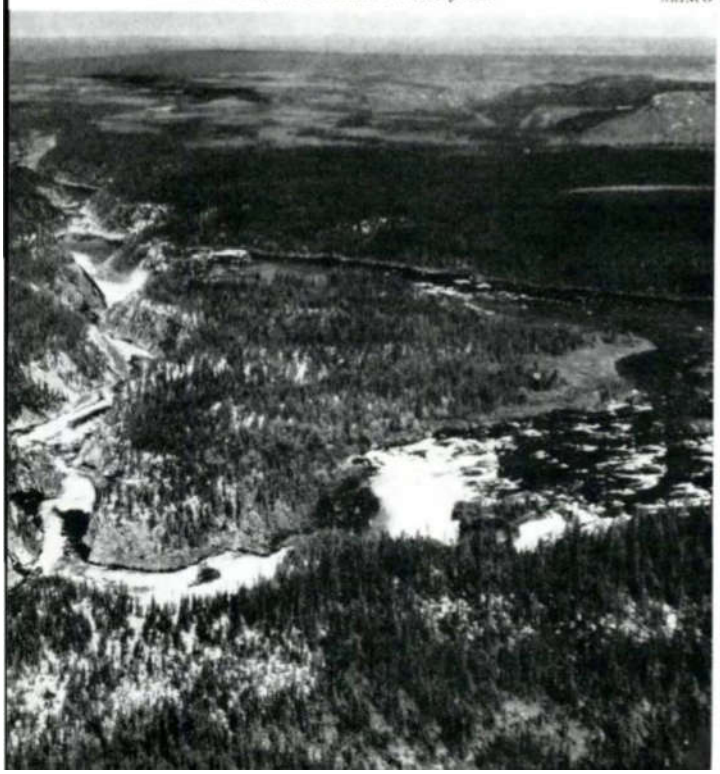
Yale Falls, above, was photographed by Varick Frissell in July 1925. The similarity between these falls and Scott Falls (left) farther upstream misled Frissell and Taylor into believing they had been at the same waterfall whereas they had visited falls four miles apart.

Scott Falls, the upper left bank falls, photographed in the winter 1928-9 by James Scott.

part of the river above the upper falls and to use other ice surfaces for sled travel. On the other hand, the low temperatures, deep snow, and scarcity of game made their voyage a hard one during which four of the seven sled dogs died, or were killed to make food for the others. For a while the entire party—animals and men—consumed a diet of flour paste flavoured with a little pemmican, and occasionally a porcupine. Much of the work planned had to be omitted, replaced by a struggle for survival in which the efforts of guide Robert Michelin were largely responsible for success. Yet, despite the difficult conditions, a significant contribution was made to the geographical knowledge of the Unknown River.

Watkins had intended to follow the river up to its source in Ossokmanuan Lake, but like Frissell he was forced to omit this part of the program. He did, however, examine Lake D (above the upper falls) and Lake E (now Baikie Lake), and was able to see from a hill that the Unknown River had its source in Ossokmanuan Lake, several miles away. This fact was common knowledge to members of Taylor's party, who had descended the river from the lake to the upper falls the previous summer, but

Looking downstream over the two upper falls first visited by the Taylor party in 1928. Today a power dam has diverted the flow of the right bank channel over Scott Falls, the nearest waterfall. BRINCO



no description of their trip had been published, and to many people the source of the Unknown River was still doubtful.

Elliott Merrick, his hardy wife Kay, and Arch Goudie, a trapper from North West River, were the first to visit all four waterfalls, in a winter trip in 1930. The Merricks were Americans escaping from the noise, speed, and routine of city life in the eastern states. During their stay they were able to accompany one of the height-of-landers on a trip up the Hamilton River to his trapline above Grand Falls. From there, in early December 1930, the party snowshoed south to the point where the Unknown River leaves Ossokmanuan Lake, then down-river to the upper falls. On 16 December they visited both upper and lower waterfalls of the right-bank channels. Merrick described the Twin Falls of Thomas as they appeared in winter:

> A magnificent plunge overhung with an enormous bulge of ice where the torrent leaped to lick three seventy-foot stalactite icicles. In the pool at the bottom, hundreds of small white ice pans, round like cookies, bobbed on the waves and swung on the slow circle of the eddy.

On the following day they crossed the river and walked down the left bank to Yale Falls, examining the left upper falls on their way back to camp. The party then returned to Jacopie Lake and started down the Hamilton, taking a look at Grand Falls on the way.

Merrick's book *True North* was published in 1933 and in the same year Scott published *The Land That God Gave Cain*, describing his experiences with Watkins and Robert Michelin in 1928-9. These books, plus articles by Watkins and Frissell, may have served to discourage further exploration of the Unknown River, for it seemed to be no longer unknown and was therefore less attractive to voyagers. Its origin in Ossokmanuan Lake had been discovered. The four waterfalls had been located and photographed, and two groups of people had visited the region between the upper and lower sets of waterfalls. It had been shown that while the upper part of the river was navigable by canoe, the river below Twin and Yale Falls rushed through deep gorges and was useless for travel. Incentive no longer existed for trips to the Unknown River, and not for another twenty years was the river assaulted by outsiders.

In 1950 a party comprising Andrew Brown and Ralph Gray of the National Geographic Society, with John and Leslie Michelin of North West River as guides, visited the four waterfalls, a feat which had been accomplished by Merrick in the winter of 1930 but which had never been done in summer. The four men flew in to Burnt Creek, Quebec (near today's Schefferville), where the Iron Ore Company of Canada was preparing to begin mining

operations, and introduced their two aluminum 18-foot canoes to water in Astray Lake. By way of the Ashuanipi River they travelled to Sandgirt Lake. An upstream paddle on the Atikonak River, via Gabbro Lake, brought them to Ossokmanuan Lake, which Taylor's party had approached from the south. They started down the Unknown River on July 18, ran the first set of rapids and lined the canoes through the second. Then rain kept them tent-bound for a day, after which they continued again, ran three sets of rapids, crossed Baikie Lake and made a camp.

On July 21 a short trip was made to the right upper falls, where "in half a dozen spouts the river tumbled 90 feet over an escarpment into a wide gorge running nearly at right angles to the face of the falls". From here the party walked on down-river to Twin Falls, where water divided around a rock and plunged a hundred feet into a vertical-walled, misty gorge. The left-bank waterfalls were inspected on the following day. There was no difficulty in reaching the upper falls, but in order to reach Yale Falls it was necessary to pole a crude log raft across a left-bank tributary named by them Raft River, with the current threatening to carry them downstream over the waterfall. It would have been a unique way to observe the falls.

Yale Falls was photographed and the party then returned to their camp above the upper falls, from which they later re-ascended the river to Ossokmanuan Lake, canoed to Grand Falls, and continued down the Hamilton River to North West River.

The National Geographic Society trip marked the close of an era in which curiosity drew several small exploratory parties to the Labrador interior to determine basic geographical facts such as the location of lakes, river and waterfalls, the pattern of drainage, the suitability of water courses for canoe travel, and, in an approximate way, the resources of the country, especially those facts related to hydro-electric potential. The exploration was mainly by private interests, and was in some cases backed by geographical societies. For some the object was not primarily to explore, to discover, or to map, but simply to make a challenging trip through a remote wilderness. Travel was by canoe or on foot, with snowshoes and dogsleds used in winter. It was slow travel, and physically hard, but it had its rewards. There was an element of adventure in it.

Since 1950 exploration has become more intense throughout the interior of Labrador-Ungava. Much of it has been directed specifically towards mineral and hydro-electrical development and carried out by industrial groups. Planes and helicopters have greatly augmented the work of canoe and ground parties. Since the construction of the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway, the iron mining towns of Schefferville, Labrador City, and Wabush have come into being, and the British Newfoundland Corporation has prepared plans for the production of a large block of power at Grand Falls.

The Unknown River has not escaped the inexorable development. A dam on the river just above the upper falls (which are now named Scott Falls) diverts water to a power house which transmits electricity to Labrador City and Wabush. Beside the reservoir, on the river's right bank, there is a town called Twin Falls, connected by road to the railway and served by aircraft. The area is criss-crossed by roads. The ground surface has been surveyed by the prying eye of the air-borne camera and represented on topographical maps of large scale. The mystery of the Unknown River has gone. ◆

Part of the right bank upper falls, split into channels like all the Unknown falls, a waterfall that no longer exists.

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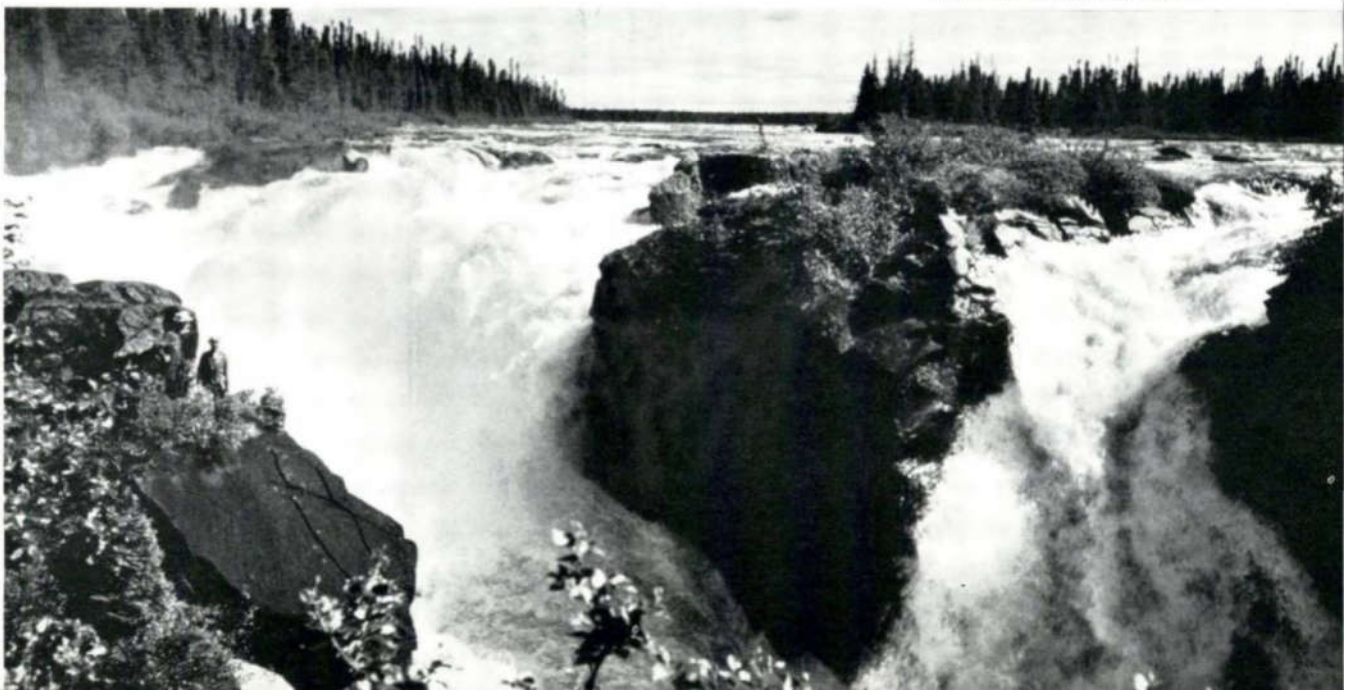


BY W. A. McKAY

Part III

the story of
THE CANADIAN FUR TRADE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF the fur trade in Canada is historically portrayed as a progression from the Atlantic to the Pacific, beginning in the era of Cartier and Champlain and arriving, some three centuries later, on the Pacific coast. While this is generally true, there were areas of fur trade development preceding this general trend that functioned on the Pacific coast long before the arrival of the fur-traders from Canada.

About the time Jacques Cartier was viewing the *castor gras* of the Micmacs with a speculative eye and a twitching nose at Gaspé, Ivan the Terrible was directing the expansion of tsarist Russia towards the Pacific in development of the rich Siberian sable trade. (His correct title was Tsar Ivan IV. It was not until after he became involved in the fur trade development, among other things, that he became known as Ivan the Terrible.)

Ivan's approach to development of the fur trade in Siberia was somewhat different from that of the English and French in Canada. Whereas the policy in Canada was to trade for furs, the policy in Siberia was to send the Cossacks in and take the furs. This process was carried out with customary Cossack dash—dash into a hut, dash the occupants' heads together and dash away with the furs. By the removal of the time-consuming element of barter from the fur-trade the Russians were able to advance eastward across Siberia with extreme rapidity, and by 1640 the fur-trade had reached the Pacific at Okhotsk. (By the 1640s in Canada the Iroquois were still trying to wipe out the settlement of Montreal.)

With the conquest of Siberia there began a rich fur trade in sable (marten) that has lasted to this day. Operated as a state monopoly from Moscow, rich caravans of fur went annually to China for the next century and little was done to expand development of Russian fur resources that had been begun in the reign of Ivan the Terrible.

When Peter the Great came to power in the 17th century there were obvious implications on the part of whoever was responsible for naming the tsars that certain changes in policy were desirable. Tsar Peter who, thanks

This process was carried out with customary Cossack dash . . .

to the Cossacks, now had a harbour at Okhotsk, decided to build a ship in it and develop maritime exploration toward the northeast. Vitus Bering, a Danish captain in the service of the Russian navy, was placed in charge of exploration and between 1728 and 1741 established in his several voyages the first true knowledge of the relative positions of Asia and North America in the Arctic Sea.

It was in the process of these explorations that the Pacific coast fur trade had its beginnings. The sea-beavers killed for food proved to have pelts of remarkable beauty, incomparably finer than the river-beavers known to the traders. They also proved on further study to be really sea-otters and not beavers at all. The first sea-otters taken to China and Russia from these coastal waters brought such high prices that within a short time all the natives of the Aleutian archipelago were involved in the fur trade—if exchanging an annual tribute of sea-otter pelts to Russia for the privilege of preserving their identity can be termed a trade.

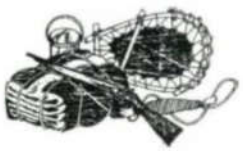
From the Aleutian Islands the fur trade was extended to the Alaskan mainland and here consolidated, and for the next half century functioned richly, shrouded in secrecy and arctic fog, on the shrewd principle that the less the Spaniards and English knew about this Russian treasure chest the better.

Meanwhile, the centuries-old search for the Northwest Passage from Europe to China having become tiresome, Captain James Cook was attempting to discover a Northeast Passage from China to Europe in order to break the monotony. In 1778 at Nootka Sound he discovered, in the opinion of his crew at least, something equally valuable in the sea-otter trade. The barter which immediately developed between sailors and natives, in which nails, buttons and pieces of iron and tin were exchanged for ceremonial robes of state each worth a year's wages to a British sailor paved the way for future English participation in the west coast fur trade.

Captain Cook, who in all his far-flung navigations had practised the policy of peaceful negotiation which was

to cause his death the following year in Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, left the Nootka Sound natives in a trade-minded mood. He records in his journal: "I make no doubt, that whoever comes after me to this place, will find the natives prepared accordingly, with no inconsiderable supply of an article of trade, which they could observe we were eager to possess, and which we found could be purchased to great advantage."

Captain Cook's words were prophetic and in the years following the return of his crew to England, many trading ventures were independently organized and carried out by British seamen. The Chinese regarded sea-otter very highly for ceremonial robes of state, and paid accordingly. In 1787 a large cargo of 2,552 sea-otter furs sold in China during a slump in prices still brought traders $54,857 and profits such as these attracted considerable interest.



In 1788 Lieutenant John Meares, a retired British naval officer established the first permanent trading post at Nootka. Through negotiation with the native chief a small piece of land was acquired and a two-storey house erected on it, an establishment that was to cause international repercussions in days to come. A small ship, the *North West America*, was also constructed and launched, and permanent trade on the west coast was established.

Meanwhile a Spanish expedition had been carrying out exploratory investigation of the Alaskan waters and reported to the Spanish authorities that the Russians were contemplating the establishment of a fur-trade at Nootka. This was all that was needed to rejuvenate Spanish activity in Pacific waters and the viceroy of New Spain immediately ordered an expedition under Don Martinez to seize Nootka and "all adjacent lands" in the name of Spain. When Martinez carried out his orders in 1789, the seizure of course included the fur-trading establishment of Lieutenant John Meares, an English possession, and several British trading ships that subsequently arrived while Martinez was building his fortress.

When the British ambassador at Madrid first reported this outrage to London the news was accepted quite calmly, largely because London didn't know where Nootka was. With the arrival of the indignant John Meares in England in 1790, however, this gap in British Intelligence was well filled and preparations were made to negotiate with Don Carlos IV of Spain for the return of Nootka.

British preparations for negotiation took several forms: all ships of the line were commissioned, leaves were cancelled and the press gangs were activated; the garrison at Gibraltar was reinforced by the Seventh Regiment of Foot, under His Royal Highness, Prince Edward; the Governor of Canada, Lord Dorchester, was requested to "embody the Militia in that Province"; the British Army in India was alerted; the Dutch Navy joined the English fleet at Portsmouth; Prussia agreed to support England if, by any chance, a war was imminent.

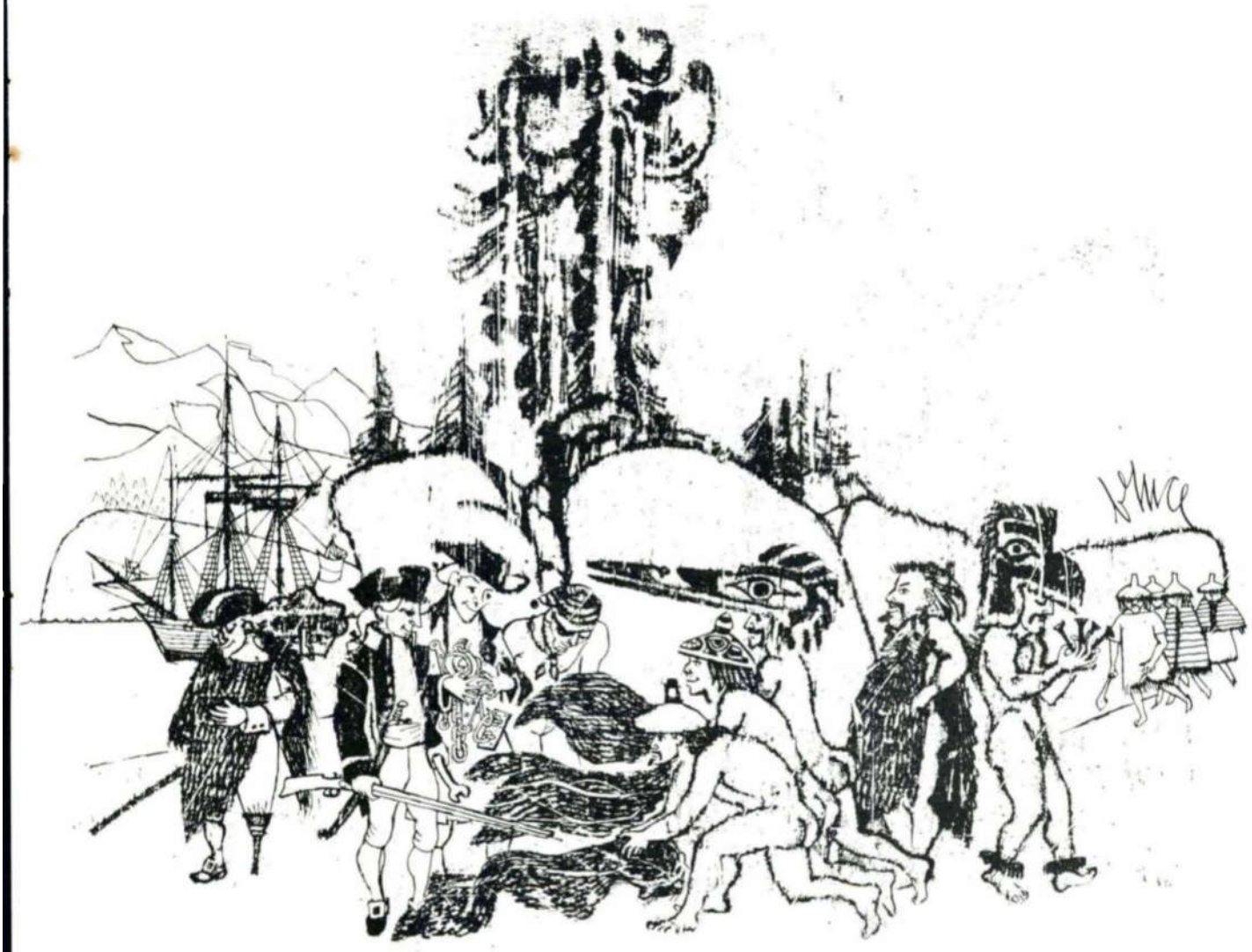
Preparations on behalf of Spain consisted of gaining the alliance of Louis XVI of France, who didn't know where Nootka was either, and probably wasn't helped by Carlos's reference to the Port of San Lorenzo, or Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, in the South Sea.

Action on behalf of Nootka was to tear down John Meares' establishment and dispose of the evidence, but this was considered too primitive a solution to gain international acceptance.

All preparations for negotiation as to the national status of Nootka having been completed by the interested parties, the negotiations themselves were entered into. Spain opened the series by formally requesting "His Britannic Majesty to punish such undertakings (as the trespass by Lieutenant Meares and other English fur traders) in a manner to restrain his subjects from continuing them on these lands which have been occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for so many years." The formal communication added the whimsical information that "His [Spanish] Majesty flatters himself that the Court of St. James will certainly not fail to give the strictest orders to prevent such attempts in the future, and, in general, everything that could trouble the good harmony happily existing between the two crowns."

The British Cabinet was understandably confused by this communication, having failed to record any instances of good harmony existing between these two particular crowns for about two centuries. Its formal reply was a classical Mexican stand-off, containing among other equally informative passages, the following: "To determine the details of the ultimate satisfaction which may be found necessary more ample information must be awaited concerning all the circumstances of the affair."

Since these missives were being exchanged via sailing ships there were long pauses in the wind-blown negotiations fraught with suspense. In order to reduce diplomatic tensions it was arranged that Count de Florida Blanca (for Spain) and Alleyne Fitzherbert (for England) would conduct further negotiations at Madrid and by



On receiving presents of copper, iron,
and other gratifying articles, wrote Meares
about the Nootka chiefs, they took off
their sea-otter garments and threw them, in the most
graceful manner, at our feet, and remained
in the unattired garb of nature on the deck.

However costly the gift may be in their
own eyes, they wish to take away all idea of conferring
any obligation on the receiver of it.

July of 1790 they had achieved a Declaration and a Counter Declaration.

The Declaration signed by Florida Blanca declared that His Britannic Majesty would now (the revolutionaries had just deprived Spain of the assistance of Louis XVI as an effective ally) get restitution for his ships and property lost at Nootka, but that this did not mean that his Spanish Majesty did not have exclusive right to Nootka.

The Counter Declaration, signed by Alleyne Fitzherbert, declared that the foregoing Declaration was acceptable to his Britannic Majesty, but that this would not mean that his Spanish Majesty did have exclusive right to Nootka.

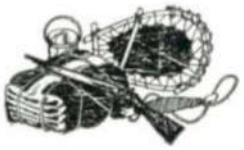
Following this enlightening exchange of views it was decided to go back to the sailing ship method of diplomacy and with the freshening of the trade winds in October an agreement was finally arrived at known as The Nootka Sound Convention whereby England was to have equal sovereignty with Spain over the Pacific coast lying north of San Francisco Bay. In addition, British possessions at Nootka were to be restored to England.

There remained only the formal abandonment of Nootka by the Spanish and the formal reception of British property by the English to conclude the affair, and in May of 1792, Spain sent Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra (with unnecessary instructions not to sign anything too hastily) to Nootka to await the English representative, who this time was Captain George Vancouver.

It appeared obvious to Captain Vancouver that if he was to accept Nootka from the Spanish delegate he should have some idea of where it was on a map. (With several hundred similar coves in the area, Vancouver foresaw the unlikelihood of his ever becoming an Admiral if he accepted the wrong one.) Unfortunately there weren't any maps, so Captain Vancouver was forced to draw one himself. This took all of the summer of 1792, and when his map was completed it showed that he had discovered an island.

Meanwhile Quadra, who had been waiting for Vancouver's arrival at Nootka all summer, was becoming quite attached to the place and on Vancouver's arrival in the fall suggested that since Lieutenant Meare's establishment had disappeared there was now no British property for Vancouver to accept from Spain. Vancouver's counter-suggestion was to the effect that if there was no British property to accept perhaps he had better accept some Spanish property, such as, for instance, Nootka. Following this grave exchange of suggestions the matter was referred back to their two governments via Cape Horn by slow sailing ships while Quadra and Vancouver went, respectively, to California and Hawaii for the winter, initiating a practice which is still popular among west coast residents. Before leaving, the English sailor commemorated their harmonious visit by naming the country the Island of Quadra and Vancouver.

Captain Vancouver spent the next two years in northern waters, exploring and mapping coastlines and waiting for some indication from England as to what to do with Nootka. When no instructions were yet forthcoming by 1794, by which time he was presumably running low on both coastlines and mapping supplies, he left Nootka to Chief Maquinna and the Nootkan Indians and went home, which appears to be one of the more intelligent actions in the history of the Nootka controversy up to that time. He arrived to find that His Britannic Majesty and His Spanish Majesty had had quite enough of the subject of Nootka also and had already closed it with a "Convention for the Mutual Abandonment of Nootka" which was put into effect, with British possession established, early in 1795. Judging from the appearance of Nootka today, this latter Convention would appear to be still in effect.



Back in Canada, although the Treaty of Paris of 1783 had given the country south of the Great Lakes to the United States, the Canadian fur traders continued to trade with the Indians west of the Ohio and along the Mississippi as well as on the western plains. Since the staples of trade were still the old reliables (whisky, guns and ammunition) the American frontier settlers following Boone and Crockett towards the wide Missouri were assured of the appropriate western atmosphere when they got there. It did not take them long to realize that one way of reducing Indian resistance to settlement would be to exclude the Canadian trader from the scene. The interests of the American settler and the Canadian fur trader were essentially opposite.

This, among other considerations, brought about the decision by the United States government in June, 1812, to embark upon the invasion of Canada and war was formally declared on Great Britain. About two thousand

frontiersmen under General Hull crossed into Upper Canada near Detroit and proclaimed to the Canadians there assembled that they were to be "emancipated from tyranny and oppression and restored to the dignified station of freemen." The Canadian reaction to this proposal was slow in developing, but by August of the same year their views had been consolidated sufficiently for General Sir Isaac Brock with 700 soldiers and Chief Tecumseh with 600 Shawnee Indians to surround Hull's army at Detroit and restore it to the dignified station of civilians.

In October a second invasion was carried out across the Niagara River and was repulsed at Queenston Heights in the battle which ended Brock's gallant career.

For the next two years there were naval engagements on the Great Lakes, more invasions across the Niagara River, and battles for such strategic locations as Crysler's Farm, Lundy's Lane, and Beaver Dams on Twelve Mile Creek in the Niagara Peninsula. Here Lieutenant Fitzgibbon's small army, about to be surprised by the dastardly Americans, was warned in time of their approach by the Indians and by Laura Secord (the Canadian counterpart of Paul Revere, except that she didn't have a horse) who walked twenty miles from Queenston through pathless forests, swollen streams, and American sentries in the dead of night disguised, so it is said, as a dark woman herding a black cow.

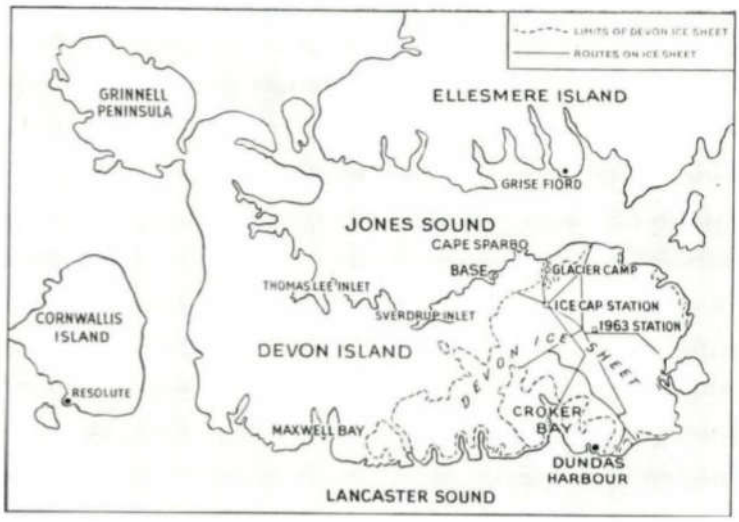
By the fall of 1814 the war was becoming unpopular with everyone concerned except possibly the Shawnees. The Maritime provinces and the Atlantic states had maintained a neutral attitude toward each other and disinterested attitudes toward what was going on along the borders of Upper Canada, and the active participants finally agreed to take advantage of the season of goodwill by declaring peace on Christmas Eve, 1814, with the Treaty of Ghent. It had been a satisfactory war all round, with each side able to boast of glorious victories and a peace that passed understanding by restoring the situation to just what it had been before the war began. The Canadian fur traders were back in business. ◆

Laura Secord walked through pathless forests and American sentries . . .

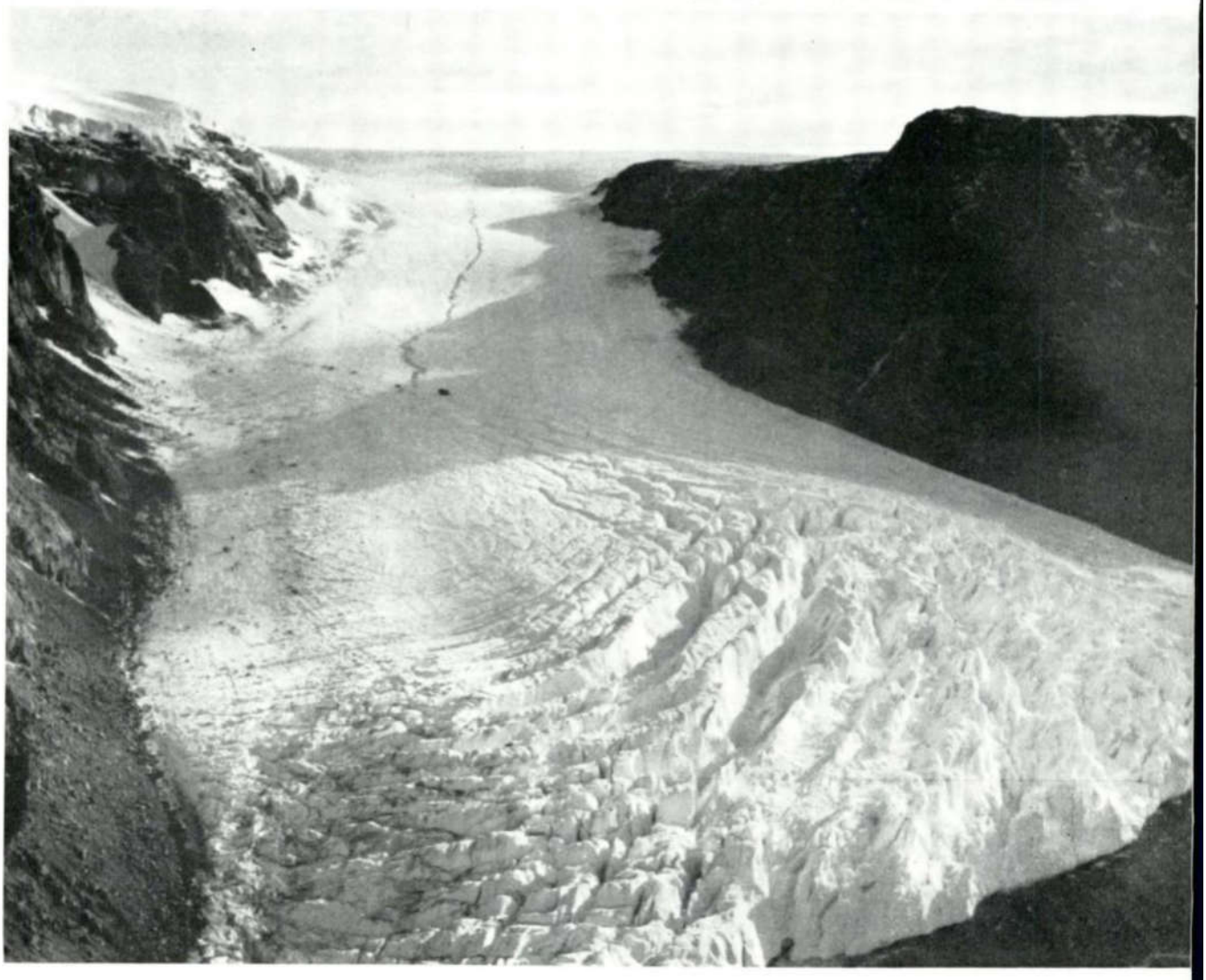
DEVON ISLAND REPORT

BY SPENCER APOLLONIO

oceanographer and leader of the Arctic Institute of North America Devon Island Expedition 1960-63.



Glacier flowing from the ice sheet to Jones Sound.



Meteorologists Dahlgren (left) and Suckling track a balloon.

FOUR LONG SUMMERS and one short winter are hardly adequate for any reasonably close look at even a part of the Arctic. Who could claim that he understood, say, Nova Scotia in such a time? The points of view that may be brought to 20,000 square miles of land, including 7,000 square miles of permanent ice, are as broad and diverse as the thoughts of man. The inevitable result of such an endeavour is that the original conceptions and researches undertaken merely reveal new aspects and interests that could hardly have been conceived before an introduction to the nature of the subject. Such are the fascinations, and the frustrations, of any exploratory research. Canadians have found that their northland is hardly the simple, monotonous, desolate waste that occupied much of the public mind barely a few years ago. Hundreds have been introduced to the endless quest, and thousands will continue it. Our own efforts at the moment have an ending, but in fact they were only a beginning that can have no end as long as man has curiosity about his world.

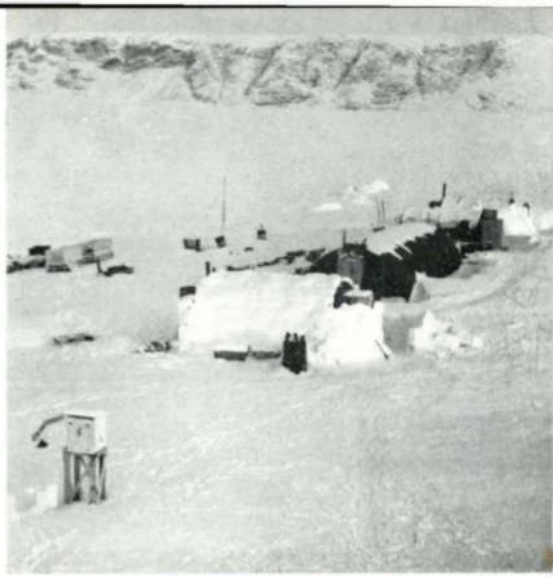
In late August of 1960 the icebreaker CCGS *d'Iberville* lay off the north coast of Devon Island in a 50 knot gale. The Arctic Institute's eight men on board awaited the moderation of the gale, fully aware that the ship might have to depart without being able to set them ashore. For 24 anxious hours they scanned the coast, hardly promising in its first appearance, and speculated on the possibility of establishing the base and facilities upon which the next three years of work would depend. But gales do moderate, and the ship did set the men and cargo—60 tons of it—ashore. B. D. Clarke, C. R. Harington and G. E. Stewart laboured over vehicles and stores, while V. D. Boyd repaired and improvised equipment, and G. R. Lowther, R. S. McCall and D. R. Oliver examined the coast for previous occupations. Within three weeks a base was built, archaeological sites were discovered and excavated, routes to the permanent ice were located, and vehicles and equipment sent inland to explore the feasibility of future research. Until that time all our plans had been based solely upon air photographs. No man could say what could or could not actually be done. We went south satisfied that the job could be done.

Twelve men landed at Resolute early in April 1961. Nine more were to follow. We had a Supercub aircraft, now one of the versatile tools of arctic work, and the pilot, Ross Carswell, was the indispensable man at that time and throughout the summer. He combined unexcelled flying, electronic, and culinary skills in a frame that bordered on being larger or at least longer than his aircraft.

Our objectives are not easily summarized, but we asked such questions as: what is the present balance of those 7,000 square miles of ice cap and glaciers? How do meteorological conditions affect their growth or decline? Can we determine their history in the recent past and can this be correlated with known trends in weather conditions? How deep is the permanent ice, and does the annual precipitation have any effect on the ice thickness? Does the ice sheet cause local weather anomalies, and if so of what kind and degree? How fast do the glaciers move and at what rate are they melting? Do calving glaciers have any influence on marine life? What is the geological nature of the land in which we shall live? Who lived here before us and when and how, and what if anything can their remains reveal about conditions in their time? These are of course not unrelated questions, for it is realized that ocean and atmosphere have interactions that control glacial cycles. In turn, massive accumulations of ice and snow will produce their own effects on their environment—air, ocean or land—which will in turn control the life that exists therein.

We were an international lot; a Canadian archaeologist, a Swiss geophysicist, Swedish meteorologists, Swedish and English glaciologists, English and Canadian surveyors, English geologist, American pilot, and oceanographer, with skilled Canadian, English, American assistants.

S. R. Ekman and R. M. Koerner began the glaciological survey that Koerner was to continue throughout the summer, the following winter and for two more summers. The Supercub flew them and their supplies—enough to be self-contained until September—onto the large glacier flowing into Jones Sound that was to be intensively studied. R. Wyness and P. Cress followed to set up their network for a detailed survey of glacier movement that was to be continued through 1962 and be concluded by Cress in 1963. Dr Kurt Vogtli and his assistants were flown in to use Vogtli's electrical resistance technique for measuring, among other things, the depth of the glacier



and ice sheet. J. P. Greenhouse was to continue and extend the observations initiated by Vogtli, and in the course of that work in 1961 they located an ancient lake bed, now thoroughly buried beneath several hundred feet of glacial ice.

The meteorological program was set up by L. Dahlgren and B. Holmgren. Holmgren occupied the permanent ice cap station that had been established overland in early May on the north slope of the Devon ice sheet, and the two, with frequent radio coordination of observations, began the unremitting round of detailed measurements at sea level and at 4,500 feet above the sea.

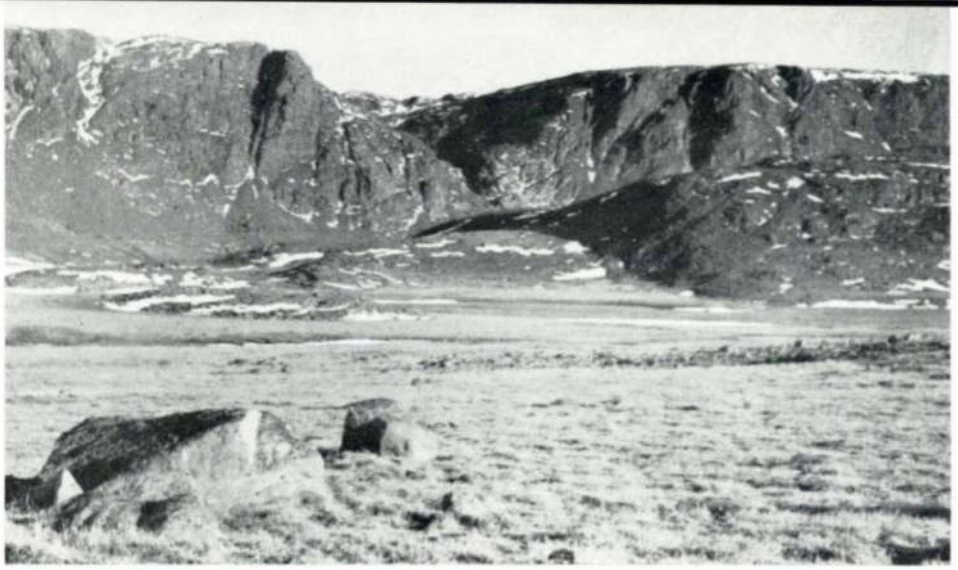
Archaeologist G. R. Lowther returned to Devon in late June to continue the explorations and excavations of the 3,000-year-old sites he had found the previous fall. His camp was established under the 1,000 foot cliffs of Cape Sparbo with the aid of helicopters.

Dr John Cowie began his geological study with the handicap of a heavy snow accumulation. He and his assistant struggled to reach his outcrops through drifts that would not support snowshoes. But during the summer, with the support of the Supercub, he explored the land from Dundas Harbour west to Maxwell Bay and back along the north coast through Thomas Lee and Sverdrup Inlets to the base. His work produced fossils previously unknown in North America, and related much of the geology of central Devon Island to the results obtained by the Geological Survey further to the west a few years previously. At the end of the season, Cowie's assistant, A. Ormiston, and Carswell spent several days in the Grinnell Peninsula area, collecting material that has been incorporated in Ormiston's detailed report on the fossil fauna of the Queen Elizabeth Islands.

1961 was census year in Canada, and we were not omitted. Early in June Constable Bob Bacchus sledged across the sea ice of Jones Sound from the Grise Fiord, Ellesmere Island, R.C.M.P. Detachment, and gathered the required information from our field parties by radio. He had some difficulty in classifying our base buildings which were in fact prefabricated and highly portable structures. In spite of their somewhat dubious appearance, which caused his Special Constable, Ningu, to express some doubt about our welfare for the coming winter, we found them thoroughly adequate and practical if not luxurious quarters.

The base, in addition to Dahlgren's meterological work, supported the marine biological and oceanographic work, which was designed to measure the annual amount of photosynthetic activity in the sea, and the physical and chemical fluctuations that affected or were related to it. We found that the sea-ice itself supports a rather surprising plant growth while still covered by the deep snow of spring, and long before the sea itself wakes up from the winter inactivity.

Summer passed with gratifying progress in the various activities, but with the minor annoyances that inevitably must occur. The archaeological site was flooded for several days during the heavy run-off of the winter snow. Then muskoxen moved in and grazed on the site and refused to leave in spite of dreadful imprecations from Lowther and stomach-turning low-level manoeuvres with the Supercub. The glacier parties found themselves flushed out of tent and bag by the awesome melt of the glacier surface. The surveyors had to be flown to their resection points on the valley walls since they could not otherwise get off the ice during the flood. Ekman found that you cannot flip pancakes in a small tent. Carswell got thoroughly stuck in the mud and had to lay a stone runway to get the aircraft off the ground. Holmgren learnt with emphatic finality from A. Gill, his assistant, that spinach and sausages together do not make a soup. T. R. Welch and G. E. Stewart provided the essential, unending maintenance work with the unavoidable harassment of bugs and mud. Vogtli's Swiss training more than once extricated their tracked vehicle from glacial trenches and streams, and Cowie somehow found that the most interesting outcrops occurred in the spots most inaccessible for the supporting aircraft.



Far left: Glaciological research camp on a big glacier at 4,000 feet.

Centre: Looking south from the 30-foot-high meteorological mast over the base station, the buildings being laboratory, warehouse, sleeping quarters, and mess.

The cliffs of Devon Island south of the base station in summer.

When the summer field workers left in September five men remained at the base station on Devon to continue the program through the winter. With B. Beck, Gill, Koerner, and C. W. Nicol and me, the glaciological, meteorological, oceanographic and limnological studies were carried on without interruption for the next nine months. Time is of the essence in the arctic winter. Vehicles and generators must be maintained and serviced. Supplies must be brought in to camp from the beach where the supply ship dumped them. The routine of camp life goes on, and there is no let up in the scientific program.

Winter came slowly at 76° North. By November the gradually failing light gave only a little usable twilight at noon, and the overcast sky made the days and nights particularly dark. The naked frozen ground was finally covered with a little snow during the darkness of December, and then snowshoes became necessary and sled-hauling possible.

Clearer skies after the new year gave us at least a few hours of welcome though dim twilight at noon each day. The cold light from the south noticeably increased as the temperature dropped until late in February the sun again briefly topped the high cliffs south of the station. One has the impression that after December the weather was almost always clear though in fact there were a few days of snow-fall that gradually increased the cover to about a foot in depth.

Temperatures ranged from the minus twenties in the fall to the low forties and minus fifties in February and March, but the various scientific excursions continued at regular intervals through the winter, mainly on skiis or snowshoes, over distances of eight or ten miles.

The station was in a favoured location, protected from strong winds, though there were a few moderate gales with hard blowing snow, and the oil-burning space heaters generally kept the mess and laboratory buildings at reasonable temperatures. One problem, never fully solved was that of steam condensation and icing from the cooking. An ice pick was kept handy to cope with it.

During the winter we began transmission seven times daily of weather observations to Resolute via Eureka for incorporation in the arctic forecast prepared at Edmonton. This continued as often as radio conditions permitted until the following autumn. Koerner began an intensive study of the growth and properties of sea ice and lake ice, and continued his detailed analysis of deep cores taken from the ice cap in the late summer and early fall. Beck waged unceasing war with the fast-growing lake ice in order to retain ready access for limnological measurements. Gill and Nicol took up arms with foxes that found their meteorological groundwires a passing substitute for food. And they faithfully climbed their mast seven times a day to read the accumulating information.

In this period, too, muskoxen moved into the camp vicinity and for the rest of our stay on Devon they grazed freely—up to fifty or more at a time—in our neighbourhood. We remained somewhat surprised, and relieved, that during the darker months we did not blunder into a herd or two in our travels on foot in the area.

We would agree with the Department of Northern Affairs which specifies Devon Island as one of the two areas in the Northwest Territories where polar bears constitute a natural resource. More than once in the fall and during the darkness they wandered in groups through the camp until at Christmas the fatal attraction of frozen arctic char led them to meet Nicol in a final encounter. Fresh steaks were more than welcome in that deep mid-

A geological camp on the north coast in May 1961.

Gravimetrist Hyndman checks the equipment before a long ice cap journey using motor toboggans, June '62.

Opposite page:
Prehistoric remains in the vicinity of the base station on Devon Island. The upper stone structure is a meat cache, about 5 feet high. The other structure, about 3 feet wide at the base by about 6 feet long, has not been identified.

Visitors to the base, from Grise Fiord, are Okoko, Ahkeahgo, and Ahmosee.

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

winter period, and our warehouse filled with steam and blood as the unfortunate animals became a resource.

To his embarrassment, the oceanographer found himself outclassed in camp by four excellent cooks who had the unending ability to turn out surprising dinners from limited and unpromising stores such as canned meats and dehydrated vegetables. Christmas passed with a welcome airdrop by courtesy of the R.C.A.F., and in February Bob Bacchus and Ningu again sledged across Jones Sound, ostensibly to check on our bears, but also undoubtedly from sociability.

By April we had had enough of the relative confinement of winter base life. Dick de Blicquy flew in with his Otter aircraft full of familiar and new faces to take up the summer field work again. Dahlgren, Holmgren, Greenhouse and their assistants were ready to continue and expand the previous season's work. Before April was over, the tracked vehicles and motor toboggans had ground out over the ice cap and glaciers to set up the field camps—each generally two tents and a primus stove—for another four months of research. Koerner returned to the glacier and then travelled widely over the ice sheet for a broad look at that mass of ice. Holmgren and Dahlgren each again occupied their respective meteorological stations, Holmgren to watch the bears casually destroy his marker stakes with idle sweeps of their paws. Greenhouse with his gravimetrist, R. D. Hyndman, and surveyor, R. A. Tansey, began a long, painstaking geophysical trek across the ice cap with Hyndman's skill nursing their motor toboggan along. Master mechanic Boyd returned to the scene of his 1960 labours and began a struggle with an accumulation of mechanical problems that gradually yielded to his touch. He found himself untangling more than one stop-gap measure to which we had resorted in some desperation during the winter. The oceanographer departed for Grise Fiord with a motor toboggan and winch, and completed the journey with the Ellesmere Islanders Isaac and Mosesee who were met at an opportune moment off Cape Hardy. He found their dogs slower but infinitely more versatile in the contorted sea ice of Jones Sound. Constable Bacchus provided assistance while running an oceanographic station inside Grise Fiord, which turned out to be infinitesimally warmer than Jones Sound.

Dr Fritz Müller visited us on his way to his own researches on Axel Heiberg Island, and was fog-bound for two weeks on Devon. His advice and suggestions were invaluable and he concealed his impatience to get on to his own field of work. Our surveyor found himself afflicted at a remote spot on the ice cap and endured a painful trip back to the field station, whereupon Dick de Blicquy, Paul Atkinson and Geoffrey Hattersley-Smith diverted their flight from central Ellesmere Island to bring the surveyor to our base for a rapid evacuation by the USAF to the Thule hospital. A quick recovery was apparently followed by a near relapse due to the exuberant hospitality of the Americans. He was back on the ice cap within three weeks.

Koerner's traverses took him down to the east and south slopes of the ice sheet where he found great accumulations of snow, far more than he had become familiar with on our northern slope, and great areas of slush and morass. On the glacier he found a long-frozen caribou emerging from the ice. Greenhouse took his geophysical

survey across the ice sheet and established his southern station on the bare ground overlooking Croker Bay. The oceanographer made two trips by sea around to the glacier front in addition to continuing the routine biological and chemical analysis of the marine environment.

HMCS *Labrador* took the party late in September to Resolute for the flight south. In Montreal we again took up the protracted proceedings for ensuring our return to Devon Island in the spring of 1963, and when that time came the program was modified and arranged to take advantage in the third season of the lessons already learnt.

C. M. Keeler assumed responsibility for the detailed analysis of the glacier during the melt season, accompanied by Cress who returned to renew his survey of the glacier movements. Holmgren reactivated his ice cap station for its third season and then established a primitive but important meteorological station at 6,000 feet on the top of the ice cap. Three meteorological stations thus had the ice sheet under observation throughout the spring, summer and early fall. Koerner's tireless traverses again took him over the stake networks that he had established in the previous season. His drilling and deep-coring led him from sea level on the north coast, across the ice sheet and down the Cunningham glaciers to sea level on the south coast.

At the base this season we were over-run with lemmings. Under foot and under bunks; in the lab and in the stores. Day and night. They were not satisfied with tunnelling the ground; our buildings suffered too. They had to have their own entrances at each corner, and then a quick run across the floor to their own spot under the stoves. A stray dog from Grise Fiord that had attached himself to our camp and was then thoroughly spoilt for any further serious work became satiated with lemmings. He contemplated them with unsuppressed yawns. The people on the bug-free glacier and ice cap remained unimpressed with tales from the base of the annual mosquito plague, or the trials of tractors in Devon mud. They had their own problems—a superfluity of sausages and a shortage of jam—in addition to the more traditional troubles.

In the spring of 1963, Dr J. R. Weber of the Dominion Observatory visited Devon Island through the courtesy of Dr E. F. Roots, leader of the Polar Continental Shelf Project, and carried out gravity and seismic measurements at our base, on the Sverdrup Glacier, and on the ice cap. These measurements were of great interest, being an independent check and corroboration of our geophysical program carried out by Vogtli and Greenhouse.

At the end of the season, P. Knowles and Keeler nursed an ailing vehicle off the ice cap, across the endless and empty plateau and down to the base, establishing the longest time on record for the trip. From the base the party was flown out to Resolute, with the exception of Koerner and Cress who were still travelling on the ice cap to finish their survey. Plagued by the usual arctic autumn weather—fog, snowstorms, wind, and totally overcast skies—they completed their work just as their vehicle gave up, on the most remote south slope. They resigned themselves, packed up, and found their way down a glacier to the south coast in the classic but exhausting manner in which geographical exploration in the islands began—man-hauling. And within half an hour after their arrival at the shore, the *C. D. Howe* appeared from the fog of Lancaster Sound, picked them off the beach and steamed south for Frobisher Bay, a month away. •

The 'Old House' at Albany

BY WALTER A. KENYON

Associate Curator in the Department of Archaeology at the Royal Ontario Museum

IN THE SUMMER OF 1674, Charles Bayly, Governor of the Hudson's Bay post at Rupert River in James Bay, visited the mouth of the Albany River. This was an historic occasion, for it marked the beginning of a trade that is still going on. Today—291 years after Bayly's first visit—the Indians still bring their furs to the post at Albany. This trade, also, has been continuous, a record which no other settlement in Ontario can match.

Although the "made beaver," the traditional currency of the fur-trade, has been replaced by dollars and cents, the language of trade is still Cree. And the descendants of the trappers who met Bayly in 1674 still spend their winters on the trap-line, and are still fortified by bannock and tea.

This is a land of contrasts, a peculiar yet charming mixture of the old and the new. On one occasion, near the mouth of the river, I passed an ancient Indian woman who was slowly paddling her canoe towards an isolated tent on the south shore. Seated in the bow of the boat was a small child, probably her granddaughter, listening to a transistor radio! The northward push of civilization is manifest, too, in the gigantic saucers of a radar site; in the thoroughly modern establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company which Mike Pasco operates; and most impressive—at least to me—in the new and tastefully decorated hospital. Here, Sister Ste Colombe guards the health of several hundred children at the mission school, as well as that of stray pilots and archaeologists.

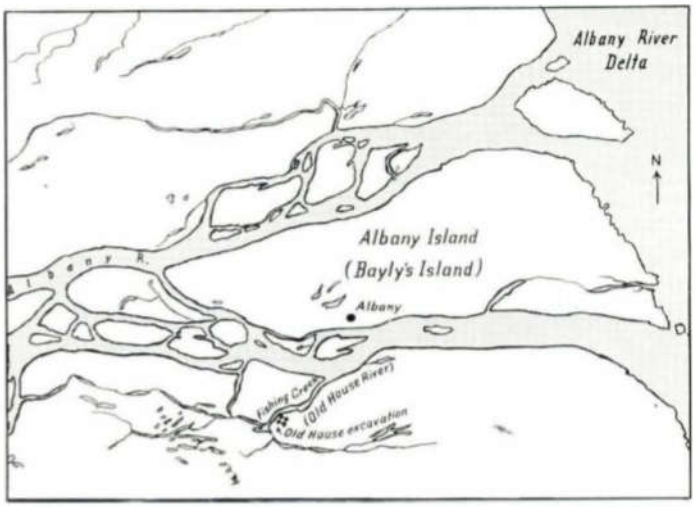
But the historic past, the fur-trade period, is still a very real part of the atmosphere. The visitor senses this immediately. Furs, of course, are an important part of the modern economy at Albany, as they are throughout the entire north. Yet here is an unbroken tradition stretching back to the time when Europeans were still looking for the northwest passage. Here, too, one is struck by the actual physical records of that past—an abandoned building of massive squared timbers sitting in majestic desolation on Albany Island; an ancient cannon still crouched on the bank of the river that it has been brooding over for almost 300 years; a cannon-ball, part of a flint-lock musket, or the bowl of a kaolin pipe that is found on the beach at low tide.

It was these relics of the fur-trade period that first brought me to Albany. Stories about an old abandoned fort, together with a few gun-flints, old tools and weapons filtered down to the Royal Ontario Museum several years ago. In 1960, the author led a small field-party to Albany to investigate these reports and to assess the possibilities of further work in the area. (A brief account was published in *The Beaver*, Summer 1961.) Since then, three more expeditions have dug at the same spot, the last ending in mid-September of 1964.

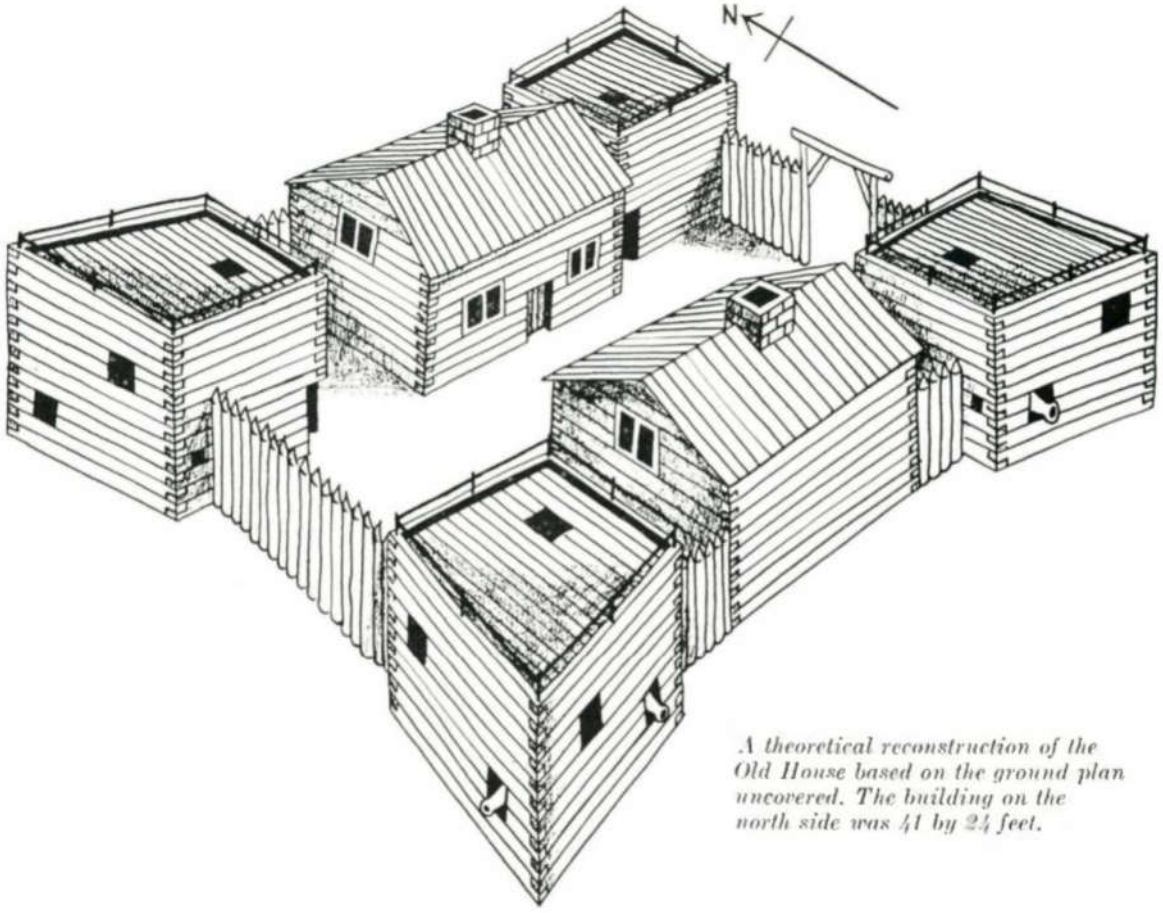
The old fort which we excavated is located on the south bank of Fishing Creek, directly opposite the dock for the Radar Base on Anderson Island. When first visited, the outlines of the moat were clearly visible, and concentrations of brick were noted in two different areas. A few small holes were dug through the rubble at randomly scattered spots, and the results of this testing were excellent. We quickly determined that the fort was constructed of squared timbers, laid horizontally. And their state of preservation suggested that excavation might disclose a complete ground-plan of the establishment. Of great importance, also, was the fact that our preliminary digging turned up a large number of items that had been discarded or lost by the inhabitants of the fort.

On the basis of these findings, it was decided that the entire fort should be excavated. Our objectives were: first, to find out who had built the fort and, if possible, its period of occupation; second, to locate and map the foundations of the establishment; and third, to collect a large sample of the items that were in day-to-day use at the fort. The latter items—artifacts and food refuse—are particularly important to the archaeologist because they enable him not only to reconstruct the life of the period, but also to interpret that life to the general public through museum displays and illustrated lectures.

A brief and very incomplete examination of the literature on the subject, based almost entirely on *Hudson's Bay Company*, by E. E. Rich, and the *Journal* of de Troyes, edited by Caron, suggests the following sequence of events at Albany. Charles Bayly first visited the mouth of the river in 1674, promising to return the following year. When he left the Bay in 1679, he reported that he had already built a post of some strength on Bayly's Island (this is the present Albany Island). Therefore the original post, which until 1683 was called Chichewan River, was built on Albany Island between 1675 and 1679. Because this post was difficult of access, a new and presumably better location was chosen on the south bank of the river. The date of the move is not recorded; we know, simply, that the new fort was situated there in 1684. It remained there, apparently, till 1720 or 1721



Clearing the southeast bastion of the Albany site (which is shown opposite) and, bottom, the fireplace and possibly an oven in this bastion.



A theoretical reconstruction of the Old House based on the ground plan uncovered. The building on the north side was 41 by 24 feet.

when it, in turn, was abandoned, and a post was again built on Albany Island.

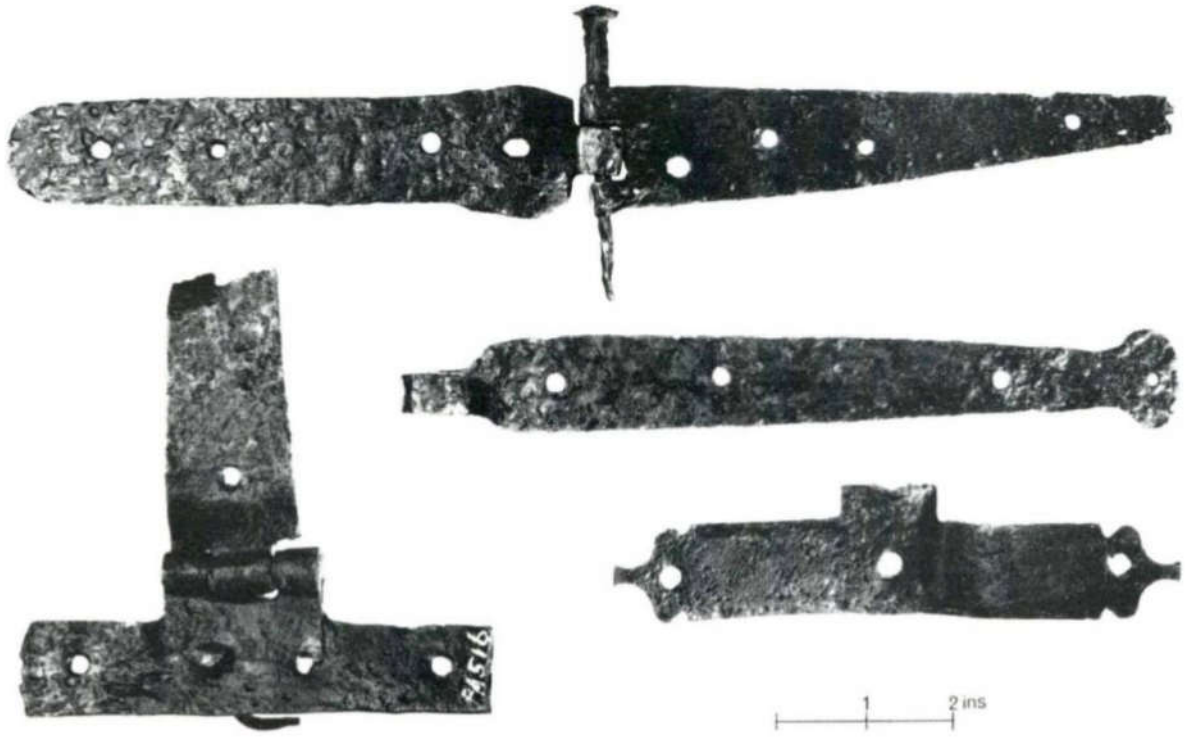
In spite of the fact that the location on the south shore was occupied only for some 36 to 42 years, it had a colourful history. In addition to the usual hardships associated with life at a northern outpost, where communications and supplies were both extremely unreliable, the fort was attacked and captured by de Troyes in the summer of 1686. Seven years later, it was recaptured by James Knight; in 1709, the French again attacked, but on this occasion were successfully driven off. From 1709 to the present, the Hudson's Bay Company has been operating continuously at the mouth of the Albany. And if we include the brief period of French trade there, then the establishment at Albany is at least 286 years old.

The early post on the south shore, however, gradually disappeared. Walls and chimneys crumbled, and the forest of white spruce slowly but steadily obliterated the small clearing which the traders had hewn out of the wilderness. The exact location of the early post was finally forgotten, except, perhaps, for the succession of traders who preserved this information verbally, and for the native Cree who still refer to Fishing Creek, the short channel between Anderson Island and the south bank, as "Old House River."

The excavation of the Old House continued through four field seasons, beginning in 1960. Although the job is not completed, we have amassed a sufficient body of data to justify a preliminary report. In other words, we have answered the basic questions which led us to Fort Albany. We have collected, cleaned, and catalogued 5,741 specimens from the site, and have mapped the buildings and fortifications as they existed when the site was abandoned about 1720.

The excavation procedure was relatively simple. We cut down all the trees—mainly white spruce—inside of the area defined by the outer slope of the moat, then removed the layer of decaying vegetable matter that had

Implements from the fort site.

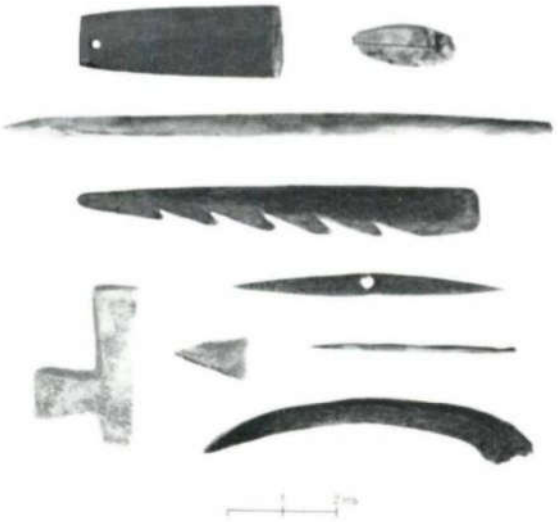


Hinges dug up during excavation.

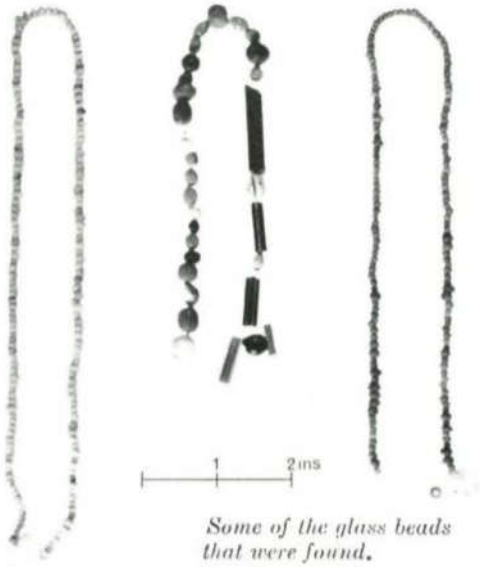
accumulated over the centuries. As we approached the final occupation level, that is, the ground on which the inhabitants of the fort actually walked, we laid aside our shovels, and resorted to small mason's trowels for the final and most exacting work.

Because the fort was constructed of logs, the accumulation of decaying wood-fibres was both thick and compacted, particularly in the lower levels. Fortunately for us, the builders of the fort had banked up clay against the outer walls of the buildings. As the buildings disintegrated, this banked clay tended to slump over the bottom logs, and thus preserve them. With careful trowelling, we were able to locate and follow most of the walls throughout their entire length. We were aided, too, by the fact that the builders had used long, hand-wrought spikes to pin together the mortise-and-tenon joints at the corners of the buildings. The accompanying ground plan of the fort was actually drawn by connecting these corner-pins.

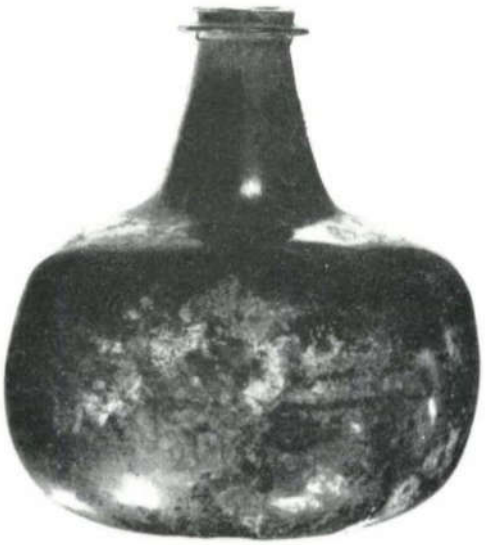
The fort was a well-designed structure consisting of four flankers or bastions, connected on the east and west sides by curtain-walls of upright poles. The north and south perimeters consisted mainly of the outer walls of two large buildings; these were linked to the flankers by short curtains. The entire fort measured only 100 feet wide by 85 feet deep, and because of its shape, every inch of its outer walls could be covered by musket-fire from within.



Indian artifacts were among the relics recovered.



Some of the glass beads that were found.

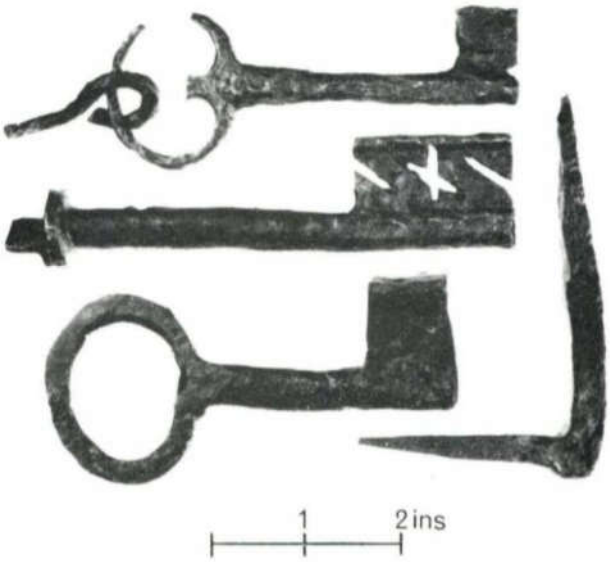


A wine or brandy bottle, 6¾ inches high.

In the centre of each of the houses was a large fireplace, facing east, and in the east half of each house was a basement. A single door gave access to each of the houses from the central courtyard. The fort itself was entered through a wide gate in the centre of the east curtain. In all probability, this was protected by a drawbridge, but the small trench we dug through the moat outside the gate failed to turn up any evidence of such a structure.

We are much less certain of the appearance of the superstructure of the fort; although the accompanying sketch is probably a fairly good approximation, further historical research may modify many of the details.

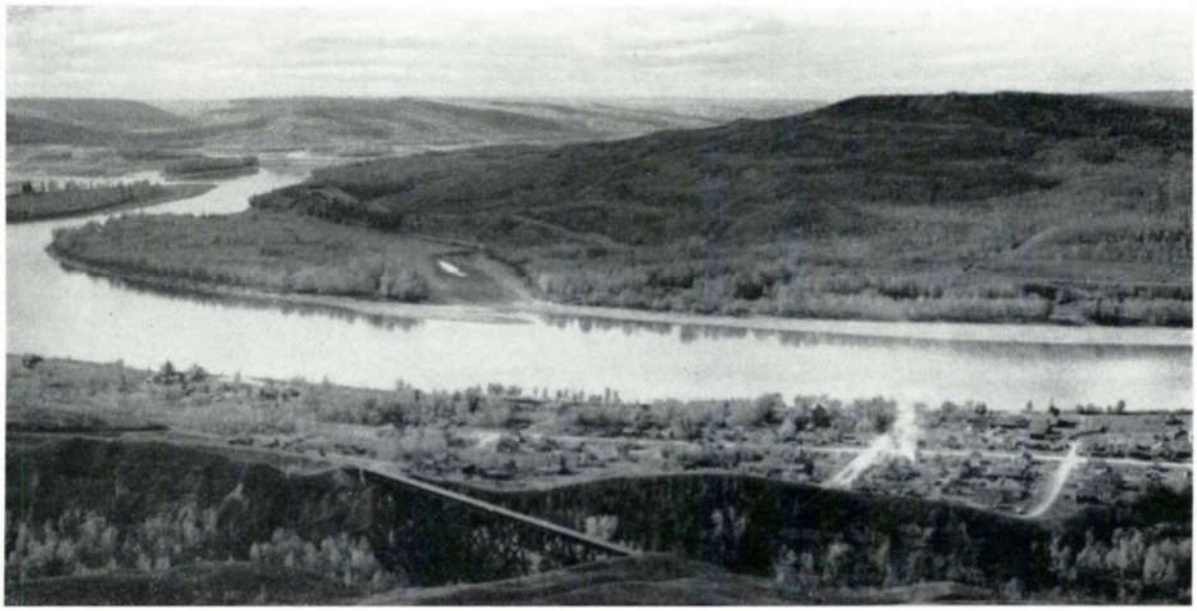
Although a discussion of the artifacts found during the excavation must await a final report, a few comments might be appropriate here. Of primary importance is the fact that preliminary study places all of the specimens within the period that we have assigned to the fort—1679 to 1721. That is, the pipes, bottles, beads, and so on, all appear to date from that period when they are compared with similar specimens of known date. Similarly, the few objects that we found with a date of manufacture stamped on them were again consistent with the dates derived from an examination of the historic records. The most recent date, 1707, was stamped on the bottom of the handle of a pewter porringer. ◆



A few of the assorted keys and hooks dug up.

Measuring bird bones from the Albany dig.

Birch-bark basket, after restoration.



The valley where the Smoky River joins the Peace with the town of Peace River in the foreground.

THE SIXTH MERIDIAN

By Donald Denmark

THE DISCOVERY OF OIL on the Mackenzie River created a need for surveys. A traverse of the river was made in 1921 by surveyors of the Canadian Government and the following year a survey was to be made of a governing line, the Sixth Initial Meridian of the Dominion Lands Survey System. Some years earlier the Sixth Meridian had been produced to the 60th Parallel, the north boundary of Alberta and now it would be continued north to the Mackenzie River.

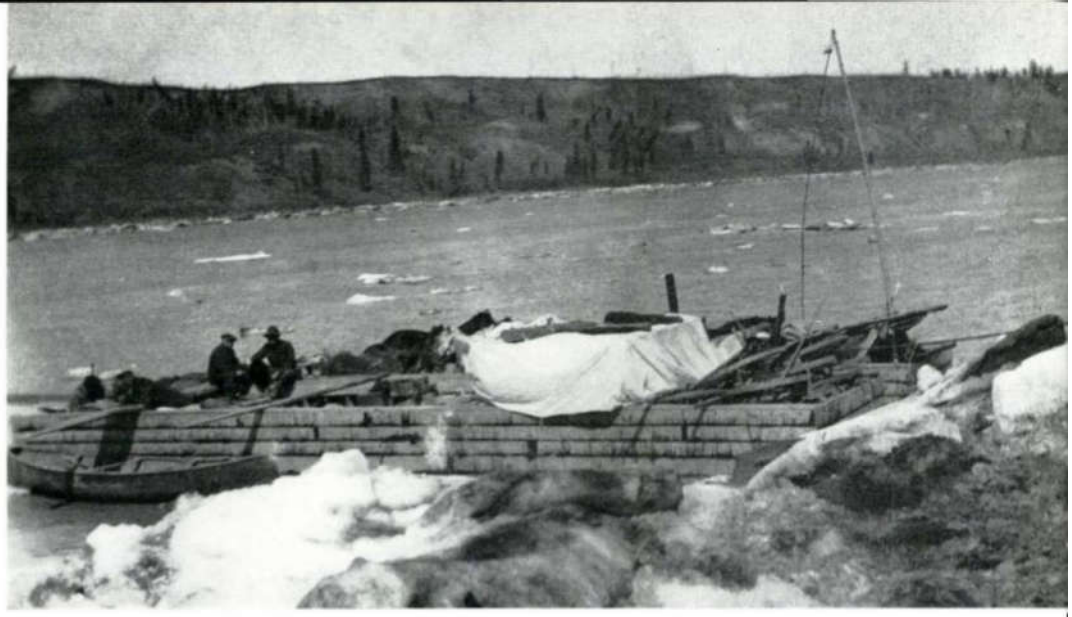
In 1921 supplies for the survey were shipped by boat to Fort Providence where the Hudson's Bay Company stored them and arranged to have them freighted that winter to the vicinity of the proposed survey by dog-team. There the supplies were to be placed in log caches at ten-mile intervals along a winter trail which led south from Providence to Lake Bistcho. The line would pass close to the winter trail.

Bruce W. Waugh, D.L.S., was chief of the survey party, the late Max G. Cameron, D.L.S., was his assistant, Archie Ponton was the leveller and I acted as explorer. Organized in Edmonton, the party reached Peace River Crossing (now the town of Peace River) by train in the first week of May. It was my first trip to the Peace River country and I shall never forget the grandeur of the valley where the Smoky River joins the Peace.

Two large wooden scows had been built. Equipment, supplies and twenty horses were loaded, the cook stove was set up and we pushed off to drift down the river to Fort Vermilion. It was cold—the ice had just gone out and there was still some running in the river. Once we cleared the railway bridge our steersmen's main duty was to keep the scows off sand bars. Dick Williams who hailed from Peace River, had with commendable forethought, laid in a supply of potent "Old Buck" rum. After two drinks I rolled in a blanket on deck and slept soundly until daylight. Near Carcajou the wind rose and the river became so rough that the loaded scows were in danger of breaking up. We pulled ashore, unloaded the horses and stayed there until the wind dropped.

At Fort Vermilion we got organized for the wagon trip to Hay River Outpost. Our stay at Vermilion was marked by the loss of the summer's supply of vanilla extract.

After some twenty years in charge of the H B C extensive beaver and muskrat preserves, Mr Denmark has now returned to his earlier profession as a Manitoba Land Surveyor. Photos (except first) and map courtesy Public Archives of Canada.



The survey party's scows tied up at Carcajou. Some of the horses can be seen in the farther scow.

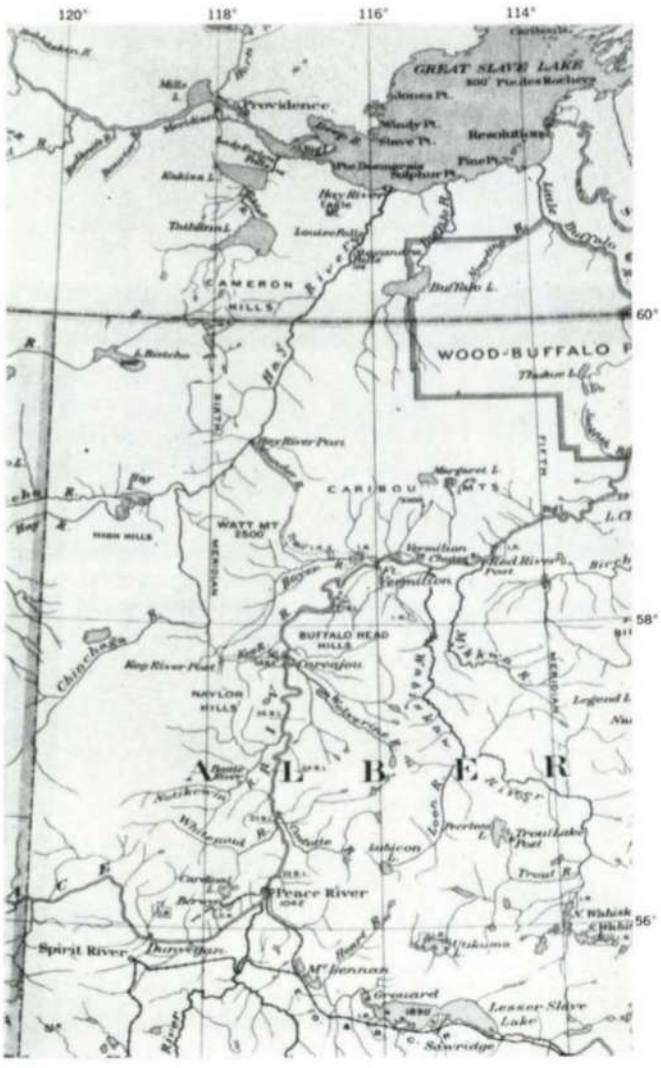
The map shows a section of the 1923 government map of Northwestern Canada. Mackenzie River is at top left, flowing out of Great Slave Lake.

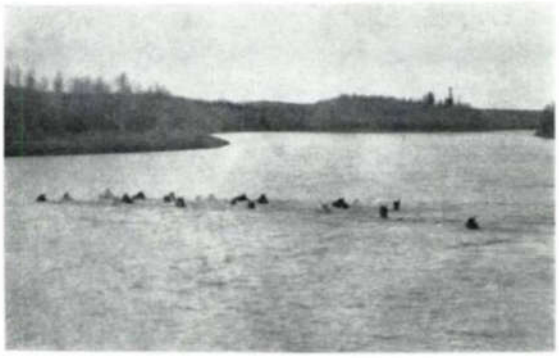
The thief was not detected but the cook had to manage thereafter without flavouring. We carried a boat with us for on the way to Hay River the trail crossed several streams which were in spring freshet. At these spots the freight was unloaded and ferried across then the empty wagons were pulled across with ropes.

We were startled on arriving at Hay River to be greeted by gunfire. This turned out to be a welcoming salute, a local custom with which we were not familiar. The inside of the Hudson's Bay Company post, with its varied stock, was more familiar except for one unusual sight—small boxes filled with sand on the counter, put there no doubt to accommodate customers who chewed Copenhagen snuff. Here we left the wagons and crossed the river to camp on the north bank opposite the post. The horses were driven into the water and, following the lead mare which was towed behind a boat, swam the quarter mile across without mishap.

Close to our camp were the picturesque lodges of a group of Beaver Indians, interesting people who still retained many of their old customs. I had occasion to recross the river and an Indian took me over in his birch-bark canoe which was twelve feet long and quite narrow. Although I was far from fat, I could hardly squeeze my hips into the canoe and dared not move an eyelash until we reached the far bank. The Indians were great gamblers. They had sold their furs and we watched them play the "stick" game which was accompanied by the roll of a drum. Most likely the gamblers played all night—the drummer certainly did.

From here on the pack horses came into use. Along the pack trail we met trappers coming out of the bush, singly and in pairs, with their winter's catch of furs. I had never seen dogs used like pack horses but these men were followed by several dogs, each carrying loads up to thirty pounds. There were two men who were obviously





Swimming the pack horses across Hay River.

new at the game. They had no dogs and very little else. They said they had a tough winter and would have starved had it not been for the "doves" — they had lived on Canada jays, commonly known as whiskey jacks.

In a few days we reached the Sixth Meridian which we followed to its end on the 60th parallel, detouring where necessary. It was still early in the season but we were surprised to find that owing to a heavy snowfall the frost had not penetrated in the swamps. In places the pack horses bogged down and we were forced to make trails across the worst spots using black spruce boughs. It was remarkable how the horses would follow these narrow trails, placing their feet so the spruce boughs would support their weight.

We were now at the end of the surveyed line — the beginning of our summer's work. By this time, oats which we had carried for the horses were used up. In this area black spruce and tamarac swamps predominate so there was very little grass for the horses; consequently they were in poor shape but they could not be sent back until it was established that our summer's supplies had been placed in caches during the preceding winter. There was of course no radio communication. Max Cameron — the Cameron Hills were named after him — scouted ahead and returned with the good news that he had found the first cache. He brought back a bag of dried beans, loaded on the camp dog but on the way the bag caught on a snag and there was a trail of beans along the line. Sure of our supplies, three men were sent to take the horses back to Fort Vermilion. We man-packed from there on, some hundred miles to the Mackenzie River. Since few of us had used a tumpline (carrying strap passed across the forehead) before, the first move of three miles along the meridian was something to remember — what a clatter of dishes, pots and pans! In addition of course the packs included tents, bedrolls, a ninety-pound cooking stove, and spare boots, with patches and waxed thread for repairs since even two pairs of boots would not last the season.

Cutting a line was surprisingly heavy work for that latitude. I was first assigned to break in the chainmen, then the "mounders" who were to erect survey monuments along the line, and finally started my own work as explorer, covering the twelve miles east and west of the line, mapping lakes and rivers with compass and military range-finder. Mr Waugh had used a range-finder in the First World War and his confidence in the instrument was justified by the results we obtained in exploration. Leaving the meridian at a known point, I would travel on a compass course, "pacing" for distance. If a lake was found, it was mapped by using the compass for direction and the range-finder for distance. Usually this exploration would take the form of a rectangle with the final course back to the meridian where a tie would be made to the nearest survey monument. Remarkably good closings were made in these traverses. Nowadays aerial photography has replaced this kind of exploration.

Travelling alone in this rough country was sometimes hazardous. I had to cross one stretch of *brulé* (burnt-over country) and for two days I walked over and crawled under windfall which was strewn to a depth of five feet. These trips usually took two or three days. At first I carried a small silk tent but weight was a consideration and later I depended on a mosquito bar for shelter, sleeping without a blanket by a camp fire. After a little practice I learnt to waken to replenish the fire and go to sleep again. Wildlife was very scarce; I saw two caribou that summer, no fur-bearers although there were some occupied beaver ponds. Except on the two large lakes, Tathlina and Kakisa, where fish were available, it would have been quite impossible to live off the country. I carried bread, bacon, beans, jam, rice, raisins and, of course, tea.

Our line crossed Tathlina Lake where arrangements had been made for an Indian band to provide a canoe. They saw our camp fires as we approached down the slope of the Cameron Hills but they panicked when we got there. Later we found their deserted camp on the lake shore only half a mile from ours but they kept their dogs and children quiet and the night after our arrival moved twenty miles down the lake, leaving a canoe for us as arranged. We needed some information so two of us were sent to find them. They were at the lake outlet and were friendly until I produced a camera when one old woman shouted something and they all ran into the bush. When I placed the camera in the canoe they came back and I got the information with the help of a mission-trained girl as interpreter.

All summer we were short of tobacco. Dollar plugs were ordered with our supplies but in error the same

Man-packing along the trail; chief of the survey party, Bruce Waugh, is on the left, the author second from right.

number of ten-cent plugs was substituted. Thus each cache contained only one-tenth of the required amount of tobacco. The caches, raised four or five feet above ground, were well built of logs, the supplies protected with a piece of canvas. They were in first class condition but unfortunately had been placed too close together. The dog drivers, who had little knowledge of what constituted a mile, had been instructed to locate the caches ten miles apart. Actually they were six to seven miles apart and as we could not use the food fast enough, we had to carry a surplus along with us.

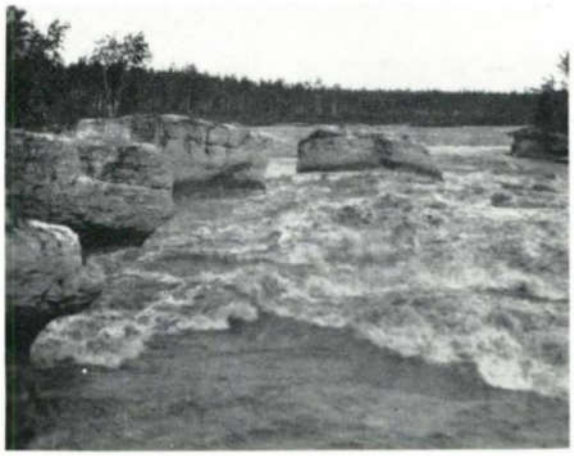
Fred Black and I made a compass and range-finder traverse of Tathlina Lake. Just before we made camp one evening I caught a large Northern pike which I cleaned and fried while Fred erected the tent. He said the fish was still alive because it twitched in the frying pan but it certainly was delicious. As explorer I was in charge of this two-man party but being younger and anxious to get on with the work, I always cooked breakfast. Fred would appear to be asleep but more than once I saw him open an eye to see how breakfast was progressing. One morning I woke to see the lake lashed to fury by the wind. Work was impossible so I determined to stay in bed and let Fred get breakfast. But Fred was not easily beaten at this game. The wind was still howling when hunger forced me to get up at 4 p.m. and build a fire. Nothing was said about the silent contest which I had lost. Fred was an excellent bushman and canoeman—I was lucky to have him with me and I learnt a lot from him on this trip.

We had a rough trip down the Kakisa River to Kakisa Lake. Now our tobacco was finished and Fred persuaded me to make a cross-country trip of fifteen miles to the main camp on the Meridian to get tobacco. We had be en away for ten days and estimating the line progress at a mile a day, I set a compass course and emerged on the survey line at the transit where Max Cameron thought I was a bear coming through the bush. Luckily I did not pass beyond the end of the line as I had done on a previous occasion. I started back to the fly camp with one plug of chewing tobacco—we had found that it is possible to smoke it. On the way I stopped for a smoke, cutting some tobacco from the plug. When I arrived Fred at once asked for tobacco and, after searching my pockets, I had to admit that when I had my smoke I had left the plug on the ground. I was tired after the day's walk but for some reason, probably the lack of tobacco, we broke camp that evening and started back to the main camp. I dozed as we paddled down Kakisa Lake in the moonlight and Fred who was afraid I would go to sleep and upset the canoe, slapped the gunwale with a paddle to keep me awake.

About this time the line crossed an open stretch of *brulé* where there was a tremendous crop of raspberries. These we would pick and take to the table for dessert, sprinkling the berries with sugar. This may have reduced the consumption of dried fruit but it played havoc with the sugar supply. Everyone was now in good training—lots of good food, hard work and back-packing had hardened us so that a three or four mile camp move along the line seemed nothing. Early in the season, packing along the line, we would rest at each half mile, now some of us were packing through without a stop.

Within ten miles of the Mackenzie River we crossed an escarpment which probably at one time was the bank of the river. We were able to descend the sheer limestone cliff through a crevice in the rock. In August Mr Waugh made a trip to Providence returning with our first mail of the season and a good supply of tobacco, but with none of the additional supplies ordered in April in Edmonton—someone just forgot to ship them.

In September we were camped on the Mackenzie River where we killed a bear, the first fresh meat of the season. This bear entered the camp at night where he sniffed at



Rapids on the Kakisa which necessitated a portage.

the cook who was sleeping under a mosquito bar. Thinking it was the camp dog the cook slapped the bear on the nose, then, realizing his mistake, he shouted for help. We emerged from our tents and called for Dick Williams who had a rifle. Dick was only half awake but managed to get his boots on, then jammed the cartridge in the breech. Finally we were organized to deal with the bear and taking torches from the camp fire, followed him into the bush where Dick killed him with a lucky shot. The meat was tough but it was eaten in two or three days. Taking part in this episode was a trapper who stayed overnight with us. He was a tall, gaunt man, on his way down the river to new hunting grounds with only a dog for company. To me, in my twenties, this man seemed to be very old and I have since wondered how he fared.

The Meridian had now been produced across the Mackenzie and our time was up so we headed for Providence to catch the boat to Fort Smith. We had hacked our line and man-packed our outfit over a hundred miles of rough country without serious accident or illness. There was however, a tragic aftermath; at Providence one of our party left us to join forces with a trapper who was going down river in a house boat. Months later the trapper reported that his partner had disappeared. The R.C.M.P. investigated and kept contact with our men for years in the hope of obtaining a clue to his disappearance. Many years later the R.C.M.P. found the bones of the missing man; he had been shot and the body had been cunningly concealed in a creek under the brink of a small waterfall. In time, erosion caused the waterfall to recede and bones were exposed to view. By this time the trapper's trail had been lost in the United States and he was not brought to trial.

Our trip out was not uneventful. At Waterways the hotel caught fire; all the guests got out though one lost his trousers. It might have been more serious had not one of the guests, Guy Blanchet, D.L.S., wakened and sounded the alarm. The local jail cell was on the ground floor and a deck hand from the boat on which we had travelled up the river, was locked up there. Somebody remembered in time to release him. The hotel was burnt to the ground.

We arrived at Edmonton early in October, a ragged and tattered crew, boots worn out, clothes patched with flour bags. In spite of hard work, walking and packing, I had gained twenty pounds in weight. Never have I enjoyed a summer so much as that one when we ran the Sixth Meridian. ◆

Cook stove and pails are back-packed; the packer is resting with tump-line off his head and loose on his shoulders.

NORTHERN BOOKS

EARLY PHOTOGRAPHY IN CANADA

By Ralph Greenhill. Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1965. 173 pages, illus. $12.50

Reviewed by Hart Bowsfield

Although offered as the first documented study of the development of photography in Canada, Ralph Greenhill's handsomely-produced volume is somewhat less than such a claim would imply. Not that useful historical and biographical information is lacking. But in so short a section constituting the first part of the book devoted to technical and biographical background intensive documentation could not be expected. Since much space is given to the technical aspect of the various photographic processes and to the history of the development of these processes the "Canadian content" in this section is too limited to be a history of early photography in Canada.

The historical approach is simple and direct. The framework is the development of photographic processes in Britain, Europe or the United States, the introduction of these to Canada, and the use made of them by Canadian photographers. The period covered is from the year 1840 to 1885—technically, from the invention of the "New Art of Sun Painting" by Louis Daguerre to the introduction of the Kodak box camera by George Eastman; historically, from the month-long visit of two American photographers to Quebec City in 1840 to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885.

The general reader who wishes to escape the formidable technical details will find that Mr Greenhill has selected from contemporary newspapers, periodical and travel literature a number of incidents and situations which provide relief, flavour and a more human touch to his text. Since at least eight to ten minutes (and at times half an hour) were required for the first daguerreotypes portraiture was difficult. However, the Quebec Gazette in November, 1939, in one of the early Canadian reports on Daguerre's invention, noted that portraits could be achieved if the subject were painted dead white, the hair powdered, and the back of the head fixed "between two or three planks solidly attached to the back of an arm chair, and wound up with screws."

The second section of the book consists of the reproduction of 106 photographs. Some of these are well-known through earlier publication. Many, however, from the author's own collection are seen here for the first time. To choose this set of photographs from the thousands in existence must have been a laborious task. The Topley and Notman collections alone (though partly beyond the historical period under consideration) consist of several hundred thousand photographs. To say that these are the best of those in known collections is beyond the ability of any but a person intimately aware of the total photographic resources in Canada. Any selection of this nature would be a subjective one. Yet the compiler has bound himself by certain guide lines. He has brought together a fascinating and on the whole well-balanced collection of portraits and views depicting all parts of Canada and providing representative work of a number of photographers and photographic processes. It is in this section of Mr Greenhill's work that the volume may more truly be called a documentary study of early photography in Canada.

Mr Bowsfield is Provincial Archivist of Manitoba.

THE MAMMALS OF ALBERTA

By Dr J. Dewey Soper. The Queen's Printer, Edmonton, Alberta, 1965. 402 pages, 51 colour plates, 70 range maps, 41 line drawings. $5.00

One of the easiest ways of losing a friend is to maintain complete integrity and candour while reviewing his first book. With this in mind I approached Dewey Soper's volume with, as it transpired, quite unnecessary trepidation. It is a thoroughly useful book, a mine of information gathered by one of the continent's leading field mammalogists. A tireless and competent wilderness traveller, Soper has pursued his studies in over forty years of travel on the prairies, the Northwest Territories and the eastern Arctic. Mammals were, and still are, his first love, but his many papers on Canadian avifauna attest to his ability as an ornithologist. Indeed, it was Soper who, in 1929, discovered the hitherto unknown nesting grounds of the Blue Goose (on Baffin Island).

Dr Soper has taken full advantage of that rare (to a wildlife biologist) opportunity of writing a complete book. Instead of the usual drab annotated list which one so often encounters, we are presented with full and useful discussions of the 153 species and sub-species of Alberta mammals. These range from the pigmy shrew—at 2.8 grams weight—to the massive wood bison which, at over a ton, is the largest land mammal in North America. Each species is dealt with fully, including descriptions, distribution, habitat, and life history.

The illustrations are not uniformly good. The colour plates, coming from a variety of sources, present a distracting variety of style. Colour photographs of animals, though fun to take and own, rarely perform well as technical illustrations, and that is the case here. I understand that publishing problems arose late in the game, and that the book, started by one publisher, was completed by another. The author, oddly enough, did not see many of the colour proofs until the book was in print. This no doubt accounts for the poor tonal rendition of many of the plates. Happily, the author's many line drawings are more than adequate.

Errors, for a technical volume of this nature, are remarkably few. Transposition of plate labels occurs once, involving the White-tailed Prairie Hare and the Cottontail Rabbit. The gestation period of the mountain-sheep should read 180 days, not 150. This is one of those slips in type which, where figures are concerned, so often sneak past the proofreader.

One of the most useful features of this book is the 60 page preliminary which deals with the "history of natural history" in Alberta, and goes on to discuss physiography, life zones, ecology, life cycles, economic mammalogy and the general science of collecting. With this material properly absorbed, the student mammalogist is well prepared to meet, species by species, the mammals of Alberta.

There are several other features—quite unrelated—which combine to make Dr Soper's book very useful to the student, the professional, and the institution. A very handy gazetteer of Alberta place names is appended. This presents a ready location reference, in latitude, longitude, for the person involved in studying distribution or range extension. A list of reference sources provides what is, in fact, an eight-page bibliography of very real value to the serious mammalogist. Finally, this book is what one might call a "different" size. Measuring 5½" x 8½" it is just the right size for a knapsack, yet large enough not to be overwhelmed on a standard library shelf.

In all, this is a good book, well written and an excellent source of information. Indeed, it is one which many other provinces may view with envy.

Mr Sutton has been appointed Museum Co-ordinator of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature which will supersede the former Manitoba Museum.

A photograph of his wife taken in 1869 at Moose Factory by Chief Factor J. L. Cotter, one of Canada's early photographers. HBC

WEST OF YESTERDAY

By George Shepherd. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1965. 157 pages, illus. $5.95

Reviewed by Caroline Gunnarsson

"Events had come full circle" for George Shepherd in 1953, when he retired after forty-five years of farming and ranching to start an active career as curator of the Western Development Museum in Saskatoon.

The Englishman, born to a trade in a Kentish city, had found his niche among the tools and machinery that marked the stages of development in western agriculture, and the closing chapter of his book is a declaration of filial love for the Saskatchewan prairie.

Naturalization of the eighteen-year-old George seems to have begun aboard ship, when he and his father preceded the family to Canada in March 1908. Packed with hundreds of immigrants in steerage accommodation, he felt a bond with his future countrymen who, in many cases, were crippled by a language deficiency. He observes that homesickness rather than seasickness accounted for the loss of many a meal at sea.

Four years after filing on homesteads in the Girvin district, George and one of his five brothers took the train to Vancouver and were unimpressed with the Rockies. "After I had seen the first twenty snow-capped peaks, I would have traded the whole range for some arable prairie land." So the boys turned their backs on the west coast to face a future of wheat farming and cattle ranching at Girvin and Maple Creek, where they filed on new homesteads in 1913.

This is the story of the Shepherds, a closeknit family who hitched their fortunes to the future of a new country, where the railroad steadily pushed back the frontier, where wheat had begun to encroach on the cattle range and the machine age was making a crawling invasion of farm operations.

Written in readable narrative style, it is a documentary of Saskatchewan rural life during the decades that cover a phase of homesteading, two wars, a boom, a depression and the current era of prosperity. Because the Shepherds were actively interested in their community and the farm economy of the day, it is a valuable history of farm movements and changes in marketing policy for farm products.

It is a story fleshed with intimate pictures of pioneer living, of small incidents that reveal big resources of ingenuity and courage. There was little waste of time, for instance when the farmer's wife and the hired girl found that neither knew how to harness a horse. The girl ran for a mail order catalogue, and from the pictures the two solved the puzzle.

The book is edited by John Archer, McGill University librarian and former provincial librarian in Saskatchewan. In a brief introduction to each chapter, Mr Archer sets the scene. He has also written a preface and an epilogue.

Miss Gunnarsson is women's editor of the Free Press Weekly Farmer's Advocate, of Winnipeg.

NORTH AMERICAN FUR TRADE CONFERENCE

A three-day conference on the fur trade in North America will be sponsored by the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1-3, 1965. Many eminent historians and students from the United States, Canada, and Europe will participate in discussing topics ranging from the role of the fur trade in shaping Anglo-American history to historic sites archaeology of the fur trade era. The emphasis will be on breaking new ground and exploring both theoretical and practical aspects of fur trade history.

The conference is being held to focus renewed attention on the role of the fur trade in the history of North America. Another purpose is to discuss the need for a central clearing house for fur trade research information. The topics and speakers were selected to meet the needs of historians, historic sites personnel, and to interest both amateur and professional students of fur trade history.

Anyone interested in receiving the formal conference program is invited to write to Fur Trade Conference, Minnesota Historical Society, 690 Cedar Street, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55101, U.S.A.

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